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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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14 July 1982

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AFRICAN-ARAB JOINT COMMISSION MEETS IN DAKAR

Opening Session

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 23 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Ibrahima Fall and Sidy Gaye: "Meeting of the African-Arab Ministerial Commission: For Dynamic and Renewed Cooperation"]

[Text] The Fifth Permanent African-Arab Joint Commission meeting opened yesterday in the Dakar international trade center, presided over by the prime minister, Habib Thiam, representing the chief of state who is presently on a visit in the Persian Gulf. This meeting of what are known as the "24" (12 African states and 12 Arab states) is to get some decisions moving again, decisions from the first summit of sovereigns and chiefs of state of the OAU and the Arab League--now a memorable event--that was held in March 1977 in Cairo. But in actual fact, the commission meeting had its origin in the first African-Arab ministerial conference, held in our capital in April 1976, which constituted a crucial stage in the definition of new organizational and programmatic means for giving dynamism to African-Arab cooperation, cooperation justified by historical legitimacy and the similarity of the challenges confronting the two complementary entities.

Yesterday, during the ceremonial opening session, the emphasis was on their common destiny in the face of the rising Zionist peril and apartheid's increasing irredentism, just as the need was underlined for solidarity and cooperation in the face of the persistence of an economic order of an inegalitarian nature. Political challenges and economic ones--as well as reflection concerning future courses of development suggested by, on the one hand, the OAU through the Lagos Plan and, on the other hand, the Arab League through the development strategy stemming from the Amman meeting--were guiding elements to help the 24 ministers present to give a new dimension to that natural cooperation.

Specific context

Opening the proceedings, the prime minister made sure he defined the specific context in which the meeting was occurring--a time when the Zionist state is carrying on increasingly savage repression against the freedom fighters, the Palestinians, "our brothers in God" as the head of the government has called

them. With regard to Israeli hegemonism, which has taken a new turn with the carrying out of sacrilegious acts attempting to defile one of the greatest legacies of Islamic "ouma," the prime minister requested a minute of silence in memory of those who died for their desire to defend the freedom and dignity of their people. The prime minister referred at length to the need for the Arab and African communities, faced with difficult economic circumstances marked by increasing dangers for those communities, to "strengthen their fraternal cohesion." "We must become further involved in more concerted political action and in the implementation of measures likely to promote the complementary development of our respective countries even more," he maintained.

Senegal's role in the search for ways to give dynamism to African-Arab cooperation was stressed by the prime minister, who recalled the milestones in the process to establish a main line with regard to political and economic as well as cultural activity. Thus, in the political arena, the prime minister hailed the efforts that have been initiated and emphasized the existence of sustained consultation on the problems with which the Arabs and Africans are directly confronted: the Middle East crisis and the situation in southern Africa in connection with the Tel Aviv-Pretoria axis, and then on other current international matters such as the North-South dialogue and current activity promoting peace and security in the world. But African-Arab cooperation does not take on only a political connotation. It is maturing and becoming dynamic via the economic aspect as well. As far as that is concerned, Habib Thiam pointed out that encouraging results have been obtained in that area on both the bilateral and multilateral levels.

Thus, from 1973 through June 1981, Arab financial commitments in Africa totalled nearly US \$7 billion. But figures are not everything, and the prime minister dwelled on that: "That assistance is being granted on very advantageous terms and on conditions directed at the priorities singled out by the African countries." There one has an illustration of what can be active South-South cooperation. The prime minister observed that in spite of effort efforts made here and there to give African-Arab cooperation a dynamic and innovative stamp, that cooperation has not been adjusted to fit the enormous potential for it that Arabs and Africans have at their disposal. Therefore, lines of research must be explored in this area to "Lead to common accelerated development, calling on contributions of the industrialized world's technology as well." Habib Thiam also felt that organization plans for a joint conference of representatives from African and Arab private sectors and study plans for the promotion of trade between the two sides should be examined and should take concrete form within reasonable deadlines. The prime minister did not want to downplay the cultural dimension of this dialogue, and he suggested a specific action plan for cultural cooperation as well as the plan to create a cultural fund and a center of Afro-Arab cooperation to find the dynamism that attempts are being made to infuse it with, it is essential to set aside "certain political vicissitudes that since 1978 have prevented regular meetings of the high level officials charged with following up and expanding this cooperation." In spite of the stumbling blocks and the extent of the challenges, the prime minister saw grounds for

hope in the Dakar conference, "hope born of the initiatives that have led to this meeting and that demonstrate that the need to reactivate African-Arab cooperation has been felt on both sides."

#### Dynamic Dialogue

Prior to this, the chairmen of the African and Arab groups, as well as the deputy secretaries general of the OAU and the Arab League, had expressed positive assessments concerning the resumption of consultations between the two entities, which have everything to gain by initiating exemplary cooperation.

In the view of Daouda Diallo, Nigerien minister of foreign affairs and cooperation and chairman of the African group, at a time when the deterioration in the terms of trade is getting increasingly worse, when financial markets are suffering the disastrous repercussions of a monetary policy based on draconian interest rate practices and when the North-South dialogue is in a bad state because it is being transformed into a dialogue of the deaf, it is beneficial that a firm commitment for giving African-Arab cooperation dynamic impetus has been made. Also, structural revisions are essential to make that cooperation more efficient and more operational. Mr Diallo felt that cooperation should not be limited solely to the restricted framework of the financial arena. The chairman of the African group stressed that what with the holy alliance of apartheid and Zionism, any dispersal of forces is nonproductive, so ranks must be closed and all difficulties likely to separate us must be transcended.

For his part, Abdelaziz Khellef, chairman of the Arab group, stressed the imperative need to strengthen and expand cooperation, which is beneficial for both groups. In his assessment, that cooperation has never been interrupted, in spite of difficulties, and he emphasized the existence of financial institutions at both the bilateral and multilateral levels. After having appealed for private Arab investment in Africa to be increased, Mr Khellef stated that the League has established a budget of \$300 million, about 75 billion CFA francs, for necessary studies with that end in view. Moreover, he proposed that a meeting of experts be held to define the best paths for renewed cooperation. On the political level, the co-chairman of the Arab group called, in the light of the outrageous acts of defiance with which the oppressive regimes of South Africa and the Zionist entity burden the world's security, for a fresh initiative to strangle the forces of evil.

#### Priority Sectors

As for the deputy secretary general of the OAU, Sylvestre Nzanjinana, he first conveyed the regrets of Edem Kodjo, who was detained in Nairobi at the meeting of the OAU office with the job of looking into the Western Sahara issue. Mr Nzanjinana argued for the strengthening of structural mechanisms and the transfer of resources to priority sectors. The deputy secretary general of the continent-wide African organization also emphasized the need for harmonizing positions within the context of the dialogue for a new international economic order. Thinking is to be developed involving areas as different as trade, food self-sufficiency and energy.

For his part, the deputy secretary general of the Arab League States made excuses as well, for Chedli Klibi, who had been detained. Then the deputy secretary general pointed out, in regard to the rise of Zionist hegemonism and of apartheid, that the last three decades have been marked by the overwhelming victory of liberation movements. He condemned the foreign support that makes the continued existence of the oppressive regimes possible. Adnan Omran mentioned that the situation that prevails in the territories occupied by Israel is similar to what the peoples of southern Africa experience daily.

After the formal opening ceremony and adjournment of the proceedings, the delegates subsequently met again but in camera. The end of the proceedings of the fifth permanent ministerial session for African-Arab cooperation is scheduled for today. It will be presided over by Assane Seck, minister of state for equipment.

The 24

Arab side: Algeria, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, PLO, Somalia and Syria

African side: Angola, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Swaziland and Tunisia

It should be emphasized that the make-up of the commission is periodically altered, in accordance with the principles of rotation and geographical representation.

#### Closing Meeting

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 26 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Ibrahima Fall: "New Momentum for African-Arab Cooperation"]

[Text] In the end it was quite late Friday evening when the fifth permanent joint session of African-Arab cooperation was brought to a close. In fact, that was only a ceremonial closing due to the circumstances, inasmuch as its goal was to free up the minister of state for equipment who had the responsibility of delivering the concluding speech. Moreover, work resumed immediately after the departure of Assane Seck.

In the course of these proceedings, which for 48 hours brought together in our capital 24 ministers of foreign affairs from the Arab and African worlds, the paths for giving dynamism to this natural solidarity were examined, and, similarly, practical methods were proposed for bringing that solidarity to the level of what is expected from it.

One of the outstanding developments of the Dakar session was the reaffirmation of the will of the Arab and African communities to do everything possible to demolish the irredentist policies of the oppressive Israeli and South African regimes, which still keep the martyred peoples of Palestine, South Africa and Namibia under the yoke of their imperialism. Stress was laid on



the need for coordination within international and regional organizations of the positions of states that belong to the OAU and Arab League. In addition, and more concretely, budget plans meant to enable the operation of institutions emerging from the Afro-Arab conference were adopted, as were other documents of a financial nature relating to Arab capital becoming involved in both African states' priority sectors and trade. Without a doubt, one of the most striking decisions of this session was the affirmed desire to do everything possible to hold at an early date the Afro-Arab ministerial conference and the second summit conference of Arab and African sovereigns and chiefs of state, which will be a forceful sequel to the spring 1977 meeting in Cairo.

#### Increase in Financial Aid

During the conference's formal closing ceremony, it was Daouda Diallo, Nigerien minister of foreign affairs and cooperation and chairman of the African group, who drew initial conclusions from the meeting, speaking for the ministerial conference. According to him, the meeting in Dakar, which city is the cradle of Afro-Arab cooperation, constituted an additional step in the new momentum that is being given to cooperation between the two communities. The conference resulted in fine vantage points for setting up cooperation characterized by solidarity and complementarity.

After having stated that the atmosphere of the proceedings was marked by serenity and brotherhood, the chairman of the African group pointed out that special importance was attached to the Palestinian and southern Africa issues in favor of the restoration of the fundamental rights of the people there.

To do that, Mr Diallo pointed out, increased financial and material aid to those freedom fighters was decided on, as was the strengthening of cohesion between the two groups. The moral and political support of the Arabs and Africans was also reaffirmed regarding the frontline states. On the economic level, the Lagos Plan and the Amman strategy could be the foundations for future concerted action, in Mr Diallo's opinion. The potential of that community of interest is enormous. He expressed his feeling that if that potential is made use of, it will make a radiant future possible for our peoples.

Mr Diallo expressed the wish to see normal resumption of the operation of the institutions set up within the context of that cooperation. In that respect, he expressed the desire that the African-Arab ministerial conference be held in the course of next year. On behalf of the conference, he addressed thanks to the Senegalese chief of state and people for the kind hospitality the delegations to this joint session were shown.

#### Devotion to the Cairo Principles

"It is not an exaggeration to say that the holding of the fifth session will have made it possible to answer a new challenge", was the appraisal of the minister of state for equipment as he officially closed the proceedings.

According to Mr Seck, the Dakar meeting was proof of the will and the ability to find suitable ways and means to make this cooperative undertaking fact. In his opinion, the meeting also demonstrated devotion to the Afro-Arab principles defined at the 1977 Cairo Conference.

He did not fail to mention the extreme interest the Senegalese chief of state and people show in the accomplishment of the plans of this community, which brings together more than a third of the member states of the United Nations. The minister of state for equipment expressed the feeling that the Arab and African peoples must unite to combat domination and exploitation, and he urged the harmonizing of Arab League and OAU positions and a just solution to the Middle East and southern Africa problems. After having listed the positive results with which the conference ended up, Assane Seck affirmed that these results symbolized the reality and vitality of Afro-Arab cooperation. He hailed the positive role played by institutions such as BADEA [Arab Bank for African Economic Development] and ECA [UN Economic Commission for Africa] in the reinforcement of that cooperation.

For his part, the head of the Palestinian delegation offered a motion of thanks to the Senegalese Government, authorities and people for the conditions which the holding of the meeting provided and which made the success of the proceedings possible.

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## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### ECOWAS FORMS YOUTH, SPORTS ORGANIZATION

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 24 May 82 p 23

/Article by special correspondent, Joher Yassine: "The ECOWAS /West African States Economic Community/ of Youth and Sports is Born"/

/Text/ After a week's work in a really constructive spirit, the ECOWAS of Youth and Sports was organized in Conakry, helping to strengthen the bonds which unite the young sportsmen in our sub-region.

Thirteen ministers out of the 16 expected attended this first organizational conference of the ministers of youth and sports, which made it possible to determine the main lines of the sports policy of this great community of 190 million people.

The experts did excellent work for 2 days and even 2 nights and drew up some quality documents, thus contributing to the success of this conference opened officially on Tuesday 12 May by the prime minister of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, Dr Lansana Beauvogui, who made an important speech, emphasizing the need to create this sports organization to develop African unity through youth.

In the name of the ministers, Laurent Dona-Fologo took the floor to first thank the party-state of Guinea for having agreed to host this conference and stress the important work of President Ahmed Sekou Toure for the benefit of African youth. Then he dwelt at length on what this ECOWAS of youth and sports will have to be.

Then the Ivorian minister spoke for almost a half hour, before the members of the Guinean government and a very large crowd, about African cooperation, Guinean efforts in favor of youth and in concluding he congratulated President Sekou Toure for his splendid reelection to the highest position in his country.

## An Effective Work

The ministers and their experts then met to examine documents drawn up by their experts. For 3 days they analyzed all the suggestions made and made some changes in them before drawing up the documents which will establish this new organization.

The ministers selected Upper Volta to be the permanent headquarters of the conference.

As for the general objectives outlined for the conference, the ministers, knowing the current difficulties, retained the idea expressed during the university games at Yamoussoukro, to set up a loosely structured organization, but dynamic and efficient, with a realistic program because it is simple, with extensive opportunities for staff training, acquiring sports and socio-educational equipment and the development of scholastic and university sport.

The budget agreed upon was also "moderate": operational expenses for 2 years will amount to about 32 million CFA francs, with each country's share being only a million and a half.

It is clear that some favorable solutions have been achieved. The work of the ministers directed with much ability and practicality by the Guinean minister, Seydou Keita, has been outstanding and the changes excellent each time in a spirit of genuine fair play.

## The Houphouet-Boigny Trophy in 1983

The ministers have asked the UFOA [Association of West African Soccer Federations] to sponsor the ECOWAS Cup reserved for national teams which will be supplied by the Houphouet-Boigny trophy. Elimination matches will be organized and our country, qualified officially, will host the final stages in 1983 which will include four teams.

A second junior soccer cup supplied by the Shehu Sagari trophy has been established besides.

Four disciplines have been reserved for the ECOWAS games: soccer, basketball (men's and women's) boxing and athletics. Benin has been asked to host this big event.

The West African university games have been definitely organized and the next meeting in 1983 could take place in Lome.

The ministers have asked their chairman, Seydou Keita, to speak during the meeting of the ECOWAS chiefs of state next week in Benin to inform them about this new ECOWAS branch and request their moral as well as...financial support.

We hope with all our hearts that this subregional organization, whose time has come, will allow all our youth, beginning certainly with sportsmen, to develop closer ties and thus increase more than ever the spirit of fraternity which is indispensable to us.

## The Suggestions

### Physical and sports education sector

#### Physical Education:

Education of EPS [Physical and Sports Education] teachers; of schools and teacher training institutes;

Granting of scholarships for training of middle and upper EPS teachers to disadvantaged countries;

Pairing and cooperation between schools and training institutes with a view to joint research;

Advanced specialization of regional EPS institutes in different sports disciplines

Starting a regional information bulletin and popularization of physical education;

Organization on the spot (in countries requesting it) of a refresher course and seminars connected with EPS teaching;

Study of methods and joint use of facilities to produce equipment adapted to West African conditions

#### Sport

Organization of multinational school and university tourneys in the various sports disciplines

Organization of university games;

Organization of tourneys in the various sports disciplines for national teams (men's and women's) promising athletes and juniors;

Organization of exchanges of trainers for all useful purposes;

Organization of refresher courses for staff and team trainers on the spot in the various sports disciplines for the benefit of the countries which will request them;

#### Youth and Socio-educational Activities

Bilateral exchanges of folklore groups;

Organization of a modern music festival and choral singing groups;  
 Organization of a festival of traditional music;  
 Organization of an artistic festival (ballets);  
 Study trip for staff, youth movements;  
 International youth projects (of economic development or reconstruction);  
 International camp for explorers, pioneers and scouts;  
 Training on the spot (disadvantaged countries) of middle level personnel by experts from other countries.  
 Training of advanced leaders in existing institutes;  
 Vocation colonies with an international emphasis;  
 Organization of conferences of government or political leaders of youth on various subjects;  
 Regional record fair, exhibition and presentation of records of West African orchestras.  
 Cooperation between schools and training institutes for joint research concerning the arts, African culture and the status of youth in African societies.

#### The Main Decisions

Permanent headquarters: Ouagadougou  
 Conference chairman: Guinea  
 First vice-chairman: Liberia  
 Second vice-chairman: Mauritania  
 Next meeting: 1984 in Liberia  
 ECOWAS cup: trophy offered by President Houphouet-Boigny: Finals in 1983 on the Ivory Coast  
 ECOWAS games in 1983: Benin sounded out  
 West African university games: Perhaps in Lome (Togo) in 1985

Ministers attending

Justin Gnidhou  
Laurent Dona-Fologo  
Seydou Keita  
Zaya Yeebo  
Lamine M'Bye  
Boni Moussa Georges  
Adelino Nanes Corea  
Fred J. Blay  
Ba Mahmoud  
N'Tji Idriss Mariko  
Francois Bob  
A.E. Jambal  
Sama Koffi

Benin  
Ivory Coast  
Guinea  
Ghana  
Gambia  
Upper Volta  
Guinea-Bissau  
Liberia  
Mauritania  
Mali  
Senegal  
Sierra Leone  
Togo

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CSO: 4719/1116

## TWO FRENCH FINANCING AGREEMENTS SIGNED

Brazzaville ETUMBA in French No 644, 15 May 82 p 4

[Text] Comrade Tsikabaka Lupey, general secretary at the Ministry of Cooperation, and Mr Darge, head of the French Cooperation Mission, signed two financial agreements totaling 200 million CFA francs on 8 May on behalf of the Congolese and French Governments.

The first, nonreimbursable agreement, for 100 million CFA francs, concerns the development of small-scale farm mechanization. The analysis of the experimental stage of the farm mechanization project, with a total duration of 6 years (1974-76) [as published], the training stage (1976-78), based mainly on state farms (1979-80), and the popularization stage in rural areas, with financial aid of 320 million CFA francs from the FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund], has made it possible to launch a farm mechanization development program.

We should note that this Small-Scale Farm Mechanization Operation (OPMA) concerns the Mindouli and Kindamba sectors in the Pool and Bouenza region. A similar study will also be made for Mantsoumba.

### Support for Agricultural Research

The second agreement, also for 100 million CFA francs, has two parts.

The first (94 million francs) should make it possible to establish the third regional substation at Ewo and to develop the programs started in recent years and to complete the training of national researchers destined to take over from expatriates. It therefore includes technical assistance, training and equipment as well as certain operational expenses (analyses), generally to be assumed by the Congolese side.

The second part (6 million francs) will make it possible to complete the equipment of the CTFT [Technical Center for Tropical Forestry] in-vitro laboratory at Pointe-Noire for forestry research.

Finally, we should note that the first stage of agricultural research, completed in 1981, make it possible to equip the central Loudima station and to establish two regional substations at Kindamba and Odziba.

The genetic heritage of food production has thus been reestablished, which has made it possible to obtain better yields which better satisfy the food needs of the population.

French participation in this project from 1977 to 1981 was 285.5 million CFA francs.

The latter agreement is also nonreimbursable.

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CSO: 4719/989

# GOALS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN NOTED

Brazzaville MWETI in French No 585, 20 May 82 p 1

[Excerpts] Three concepts--analysis, coordination and the human aspect--are required to understand and interpret the Congolese economic approach which has been underway for 3 years.

The establishment of a socialist economy in a neocolonial zone is a new undertaking in Africa. The closest examples are still incomplete; we would have to go to Eastern Europe to find valid examples. This is a factor which provides a dimension that must not be overlooked by our critics, who are accustomed to referring to existing models such as the Ivorian and Cameroonian forms.

What characterizes the emerging experiment of economic reconstruction in the People's Republic of the Congo is, in my opinion, the time devoted to the political process itself. Since the people's rejection of the proliberal government in August 1963 and the choice in favor of socialism in 1964, the country has gone through a period of characteristic political turmoil. While political debate was maturing, the economy was going through a period of lethargy which the people deplored, although without questioning the choice they had made. Top-level economists, while weighed down with political matters, used this very long period to good advantage by making analyses. After reading and rereading Samir Amin, Rene Dumont and the classics of socialist economics, as well as the many experts such as Hugues Bertrand, who have evolved through their own experience, this economic elite finally developed a working method: coordination. Thus between 1979 and 1982, the first year of the plan, Brazzaville welcomed many economists and experts. The most productive forums, such as the long and patient Conference of Government Enterprises, brought eminent Third World experts in planning, management and trade to the People's Republic of the Congo. A locally established permanent unit assists the staffs of young enterprises while participating in discussions on economic recovery.

The Third Special Congress of the Congolese Labor Party recently formulated and coordinated its analysis and methods in greater detail. This was in March 1979. The findings and decisions of the congress must therefore be used as a reference point for the Congolese economic experiment. Expressed in political terms, they are no less scientific and realistic. They constitute the basis of the first national development plan, whose first year of implementation is 1982. Its major feature is the determination to limit all the ills of



a lethargic neocolonial model. Naturally, this is impossible under a single 5-year plan. As the political leadership has patiently explained, stages and choices are required. This is why three major areas have been given priority: territorial unification; area improvement and regionalization of development.

Territorial unification requires the implementation of a series of decisive programs in transportation, telecommunications and information, the energy infrastructure and trade. Planned domestic links will stimulate interregional trade to broaden the domestic market. Within 20 years, the north and south of the country should be linked by two main roads: the Pointe-Noire-Brazzaville-Ouessou road and the Pointe-Noire-Madingou-Kayes-Mossendjo-Djambala-Okoyo-Ewo-Kelle-Souanke road. Crossroads will link these two main roads to assure real intraregional integration. Ouessou will be linked to Impfondo via Epena and connections are planned with neighboring countries; a National Road Administration Center is also planned.

Territorial unification will also be dependent on the railroad, river and air transportation sectors and telecommunications.

The interim program has earmarked significant funds for studying and launching projects in this sector, which is considered vital. Thus the RNTP [National Public Works Administration] has already set up jobsites with operations employing hundreds of workers.

No major difficulty is expected to slow the momentum of these initial months.

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CSO: 4719/989

# CONSTRUCTION OF ELF-CONGO OFFSHORE PLATFORMS DESCRIBED

Brazzaville MWETI in French No 585, 20 May 82 p 10

[Text] The operations of the Boscongo Company, a subsidiary of Bouygues Offshore, are expanding significantly. Thus in the first part of this year, its Pointe-Noire yard recorded a substantial increase in the production of drilling structures. The internal magazine of the Bouygues group, LE MINORANGE, reported on these operations in its last issue, mentioning in particular the start of production of the new "Emeraude steam-drilling" platform ordered by ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France]-Congo.

Boscongo has gone ahead with the expansion of its yard, which now occupies 25 hectares, which has enabled it to enlarge several production departments and to create new storage and manufacturing areas.

Its wharf has been extended and a harbor has been built for sheltering the operating barges of Bouygues Offshore: the "Bos 300" and "Bos 355," which arrived in the Gulf of Guinea in November.

New operations for dry-docking, maintenance and servicing of oil tankers are being developed.

But most of Boscongo's operations still concern the manufacture and assembly of offshore platforms. The rate of producing the structures has accelerated substantially. The construction cycle for a jacket has been reduced to 2 months.

The first order placed with Boscongo involved the construction of eight metal drilling platforms for ELF-Congo; the first three platforms of 100 meters in height were delivered according to schedule from May to October. The structures, Yaf 1, 2 and 3, are currently installed in the Yanga field and Yaf 4 was scheduled to be delivered in early 1982 [as published].

In the first part of 1982, Boscongo began production of the "Emeraude steam-drilling platform" (EMVF), a special platform recently ordered by ELF-Congo, thus reaffirming its confidence in Bouygues Offshore.

This pilot platform will be used for drilling in the Emeraude field, which contains extremely heavy petroleum, thus making production much more complex.

The steam-injection technique will be tested offshore by ELF for the first time in an effort to increase the percentage of recovery from that deposit.

With all its fittings, EMVF will weigh more than 2,000 tons. Launching is scheduled for the summer of 1982.

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SUDAN-DJIBOUTI COMMUNIQUE

Djibouti LA NATION DE DJIBOUTI in French 17 Jun 82 p 4

[Article: "Sudan-Djibouti Communique. A Spirit of Fraternity and Cooperation Between the Two Countries"]

[Text] Following the official 24-hour visit made to Djibouti last week by a Sudanese delegation headed by the minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. ~~Muhammad~~ Mirghani Mubarak, a Sudan-Djibouti ~~communique~~ was published on Wednesday 9 June. This ~~communique~~, large extracts of which we are publishing below, shows that the conversations were marked by a climate of fraternity. Let us recall that Mr Mirghani, who was bringing a message from President Gaafar Nimeiry to his brother and counterpart in Djibouti, was received by the latter last week on Wednesday morning.

The two parties were pleased at the broadening of the prospects for a bilateral cooperation, which reinforces the potential for the materialization of these prospects in the interest of the two brother parties.

In accordance to the agreement signed by the two heads of states in April 1981 in Khartoum, concerning the creation of a joint ministerial commission to translate into facts the spirit of fraternity and cooperation which exists between the two brother countries, the two parties decided to organize a meeting of that commission in Khartoum in mid-August.

The two parties were pleased with their similarity of views concerning regional, continental and international problems, based on similar principles of neighborly relations and peaceful coexistence between the nations in the area and a peaceful settlement of conflicts, as well as the use of their respective countries' potentialities for the economic development of their people.

The two parties noted that their countries are factors of concord and reconciliation in the area, thanks to the wise policies of their respective leaders who spared no efforts to restrict the conflict in the Horn of Africa and who have made appeals for a return to peace and stability in the area, and have made all possible efforts so that the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean can become areas of peace and security.

Concerning the situation in the Arab world, the two parties took note of the present situation with bitterness and condemned the brutal and barbaric action of Israel against their Lebanese and Palestinian brothers. They noted that the latest Israeli aggression has come at a time when the Arab nation is divided, which reduces its capabilities and potentialities to face the danger which threatens its future existence.

The two parties considered the need to strengthen Arab solidarity and to set aside the marginal conflicts which have eroded it, so that it may strengthen itself in its struggle for its national aspirations, and first of all in the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the recovery of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to an independent state of its own under the aegis of its sole representative, the PLO.

In this respect, the two parties reaffirmed their support to the peace plan offered by the Saudi Arabian kingdom, and made an appeal for the resumption of the Fez Arab summit.

The two parties made a pathetic appeal to the Arab nation and to all Muslim people to spare no efforts to end the Irak-Iran war which has mobilized energies that should have been used against the real danger which threatens the Arab and Muslim people. In this respect, the two parties praised the efforts made, among others, by the Islamic Conference Organization, the Non-Aligned Countries Organization, and the United Nations to end that war.

The two parties also stressed the importance of strengthening Arab-African solidarity to foil the Israeli ploy aimed at a renewed Israeli penetration on the African continent. They condemned the South-African aggression against the countries of the Front and reasserted their full support to the Namibian people for the recovery of its independence and the reunification of its territory under the aegis of its sole representative, the SWAPO.

The two parties reaffirmed their common desire to fight the racist apartheid regime imposed by the minority regime in Pretoria upon the African people in the south of the continent, as well as colonialism in all its forms and manifestations on the continent.

In reviewing the problems with which the Organization for African Unity is faced, the Western Sahara question and the Chad question retained their attention. The two parties are making a pressing appeal for the application of the decisions of the 18th summit of heads of states and governments concerning this question.

The two parties hold similar views on the necessity to strengthen solidarity between Third-World countries and to apply the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, and on the creation of a new international economic order thanks to which developing countries could derive more profit from their national resources, and under better conditions.

The two parties reassert their frank and total support to the efforts of the United Nations and its various organizations to preserve world peace and to further stability and development.

INTERVIEW WITH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Djibouti LA NATION DE DJIBOUTI in French 17 Jun 82 p 4

[Djibouti Information Agency interview with Mr Moumin Bahdon Farah, minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, date and place not given]

[Text] On Thursday 10 June, the minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Moumin Bahdon Farah, left for Rome (via Paris) for an official three days' visit after which he will go to Tunis; prior to his departure, he gave an interview to the Djibouti Information Agency (ADJI), to explain the purpose of his visits to Italy and Tunisia.

[Question] Mr Minister, following an invitation from the Italian government, you are going on an official visit to Rome?

What questions does your delegation plan to discuss with your Italian partners?

[Answer] It goes without saying that the Italian Republic has recognized the Republic of Djibouti at an early date. Diplomatic relations were established right after we gained independence.

I would like to add that Italy has a sound knowledge of the African Horn area, and its presence cannot be ignored, whether in Somalia or in Ethiopia.

Therefore, the people with whom I am going to talk are aware of the problems of our region. By accepting this invitation of the Italian government, my special objectives are to strengthen the political ties between our countries, to give new impetus to our bilateral cooperation which, undoubtedly, can be developed in several directions.

[Question] What results do you expect from this visit to Italy?

[Answer] Considering the friendly relations that exist between our countries, my visit to Italy will make it possible to strengthen our bilateral relations which are the result of the visit to Djibouti of the Italian under-secretary of state. Our information agency is well aware that the outcome of this visit was a statement signed by both parties, in which the domains for cooperation were identified. Let me remind you that these were: geothermal energy, industry, agriculture and health.

[Question] Geothermal energy is destined to play a predominant part in the future of Djibouti's economy. The distinguished scientist, Prof Marinelli, is taking an active part in projects in our country. Will geothermal energy also be at the center of the conversations you will have with the Italian authorities?

[Answer] Certainly, since we lack other raw materials, geothermal energy should play a predominant role in the future of our economy. A national source of energy, it will make it possible for the state to achieve substantial foreign currency savings and to lower the cost of energy in the Republic of Djibouti. In the near future, it will also make possible the industrial development of our Republic. Certainly, the studies made by Professor Marinelli must be continued before we can realize this project. However, I do not intend to center discussions on geothermal energy only; I shall give full attention to the other fields of cooperation.

As I said before, the Italian Republic is fully aware of the situation prevailing in our area and, consequently, it will play a non-negligible part in the activities of the European Economic Community.

At a time when several topics--the European-Arab dialogue or the North-South dialogue--are being debated, we, as an Arab and a Third-World country, must discuss these pertinent questions with the Italian authorities.

It is a fact that the situation which prevails in the Middle East is serious, and this problem will certainly be at the center of our discussions.

[Question] On your way back from Rome, you will stop over in Tunis before coming back to Djibouti. Do you plan to have conversations with Tunisian or Arab League leaders and discuss with them the situation prevailing in Lebanon and the extension of Israel's annexation policy?

[Answer] My visit to Tunisia is intended to strengthen our relations with our sister Republic of Tunisia. A regular and permanent dialogue must be maintained between us.

I shall not fail to discuss with the general secretary of the Arab League the distressing problem which is now confronting us and which results in hardship for our Lebanese and Palestinian brothers due to a criminal invasion. It is urgent for the Arab world to find again its unity in order to confront our common enemy, Israel, and the international opinion, which favors peace and justice, must become aware of the tragedy which is taking place under our very eyes in Lebanon.

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EFFECTS OF INCREASING MATERIALISM ON SOCIETY NOTED

Dakar AFRICA in French No 141, May 82 pp 15-17

[Article by Jean-Pierre Challard: "An Example of Direct Democracy"]

[Text] Convened in the form of an open forum, the well-publicized "exchange of views meeting" on Friday, 9 April 1982, to which President Omar Bongo had invited several hundred participants from all the occupational categories, will doubtless be recorded in the annals of Gabonese political life.

Under the impressive vault of the conference hall, the show-piece of the cite du 12 Mars of Libreville, the chief of state, in his own words, "threw the government open" to an audience of about 500 persons without distinction as to rank or function.

Because the topic was hot, the discussion was heated: the principal political leaders were criticized without mercy by the speakers, minor government officials or ordinary merchants, in the course of the debates which did not take a back seat to the congresses of the Gabonese Democratic Party [PDG]. These are congresses during which the rank-and-file activist or the provincial delegate openly confronts governmental bigwigs without hang-ups and denounces flagrant faults, errors or injustices.

Several considerations involving form and substance caused the Gabonese chief of state to literally provoke this face-off between rulers and ruled. "When everything is going well, it is thanks to everybody; when things go badly, it is because of Bongo!" he exclaimed during his introductory remarks. This was a reference to the persistent rumblings and tracts of the underground National Recovery Movement (MORENA) which did not spare the president at a time when, to his mind, the democratization of political and administrative life and the appointment of Leon Mebiame as prime minister had demonstrated his desire for openness.

"I am a man of dialogue," he reminded the audience, in the sense that all criticisms are permitted in Gabon, provided they produce constructive suggestions. The Gabonese Democratic Party continues to be the institutional framework for these changes in objectives and every official, whether he be a parliamentarian or minister, must answer all questions clearly and precisely.



"However," Omar Bongo added quickly, "no parochial criticisms," no facile demagoguery, no hidden lies. He lashed out at the recent wave of "incrimination, jealousy and demagoguery" which has been increasingly and shamelessly prevalent among his compatriots. Are these the signs of social malaise? Psychosis of individual insecurity? Maladjustment of the traditional structures?

### Increasing Alienation

A former activist of the Union of Youth (UJ/PDG), Thomas Franck Eya'a, during the 9 April meeting, expressed his concern over the "lack of political guidance for young people." The chief of state countered this annoying comment by asking how the association of National University students could join the UJ, an essentially political movement, playing the role of driving force, and therefore, in principle, a more solid organization from the ideological and structural standpoints.

The answer of Minister Leon Auge (National Orientation, special party organizations) was stated in plain language: the young Gabonese obstinately turn their backs on the party's propaganda; official publications are used for wrapping paper in the shops; and the national radio is not listened to, while foreign broadcasts readily attract them. This imperviousness is distressing those responsible for official propaganda who feel that this lack of communication is an affront or at least a setback.

Confronted with this dual observation, who will seek and discover the deep-seated reasons for this lack of understanding? It would be easy, but erroneous, to accuse "foreign countries" without naming them, however: the fact is the bush civilization has been fully overtaken by a materialist civilization.

The mass of gadgets, or simply commercial products, has freely and without hindrance penetrated Gabon's market like a tidal wave accompanied by a rise in the people's standard of living. This materialist revolution, which is neither new nor original, has shaken up the customary ways of thinking in a brutal and uncontrolled manner, ways of thinking that for centuries were assured by the tranquility and wisdom of the preceding generations.

Not only do we not listen to "the old people" any longer; but increasingly we treat them with indifference and condescension: during the debates on 9 April 1982, a subprefect who is not even 40 years old verbally abused the elderly prefect of Makokou (Ogooue-Ivindo) who had not quietly taken the road to retirement 2 years after reaching the mandatory retirement age.

"Why do outmoded people like this prefect hang on to their positions and prerogatives?" the speaker asked vehemently. "In spite of the reform in the public sector, which properly called for the retirement of older government officials to make positions available to young persons who have graduated from schools and universities...!"

On the other hand, vestiges of tribalism are thwarting the principal task with which President Omar Bongo has busied himself for 15 years, namely national unity. Certainly a successful effort if we measure how far we have come since 1967 but like Penelope's weaving which has to be continually re woven because prominent persons, out of political ambition, are playing the regional card in the absence of general consensus, to incite the young people to commit clandestine acts.

"The unfortunate part of this process," the chief of state noted, "is that those who write the tracts are 'university types,' that is to say a category which the current government has encouraged to take the most important positions with none debarred. What is more, reportedly there are deputies involved in these underhanded libels: the satirical newspaper PATRIOTE, which is supposed to reflect the government's most precise opinions, made a direct reference to certain parliamentarians in its last issue in April, for whom 'the colors of the chameleon' are handy." "But," Omar Bongo warned during the 9 April debates, "the day they are caught they will change their colors in vain; that will not save them!"

These oratorical jousts generally serve as handy safety valves for tension that is not always visible but which exists in a latent state in a country in the midst of change: one does not move from a bush and agricultural economy into the oil and technological era without paying a price. Gabon is changing rapidly, perhaps too rapidly for its population. As regards agriculture, a sector which has however remained static compared with the priority given to mining, a foreign expert recently questioned the advisability of immediately establishing agroindustrial entities at a time when Gabon is barely emerging from a "cottage economy" of the village type.

#### People's Complaints

The other daily safety valve, which assumes the guise of friendly but caustic jesting, is Makaya's letter of the day in the newspaper L'UNION. For over a year, small and big have been raked over the coals for their mistakes, their excesses. In reality, the phenomenon of Makaya is tantamount to a collective outlet, as not everyone has the means or opportunity to express himself within the context of the party.

These potshots at Gabonese political life are characteristic of President Omar Bongo's governing style. He has a penchant for direct contact with the people when administrative channels are no longer able to keep up to date. Of course, the government is there to translate the intentions of the leaders and to actualize the desires of the people; however, administrative impediments, personal suspicions and bad information are legion.

Therefore, the chief of state periodically spends weeks touring in the provinces, visiting regional capitals, listening to complaints and patiently explaining the purposes of his acts. According to the prime minister, these complaints are methodically collected, listed and catalogued with a view to finding acceptable solutions for each case, often for each individual. In his opening address to the ordinary session of the National Assembly, Leon

Mebiame took the opportunity to emphasize that although solutions had been found complaints continue to be numerous.

"The facts, we want the facts." That is what the Gabonese people seem to be saying in the face of statements made by their leaders.

The questions asked in the Cite du 12 Mars arena on Friday, 9 April, covered such wide-ranging topics as the kilometrage of city streets, provincial roads, wage increases, promotions and bonuses; the questions covered anomalies in local labor contracts which were signed on behalf of expatriates and which miraculously were transformed into material advantages attributable solely to contractual expatriates.

Of what, then, do these complaints consist?

During the 9 April "exchange of views meeting," the speakers seemed to skim over the surface in their demands, and the members of the government, who presented figures and large-scale demonstrations, took every opportunity to scoff at "the deeper meaning" of the questions raised.

However, if we step back a bit, we can easily see that basically all these complaints covered fundamental problems: inadequate or easily violable labor legislation, slowness in reforms in spite of proclaimed good intentions, "oversights" such as pensions for veterans, road construction begun but not finished and districts too quickly developed without services in Libreville. In short, the gamut of problems and concerns of all existing nations.

### The Euphoria of Oil

But why such a fuss about problems which sooner or later will be resolved? Without a doubt we must seek the reasons for such impatience and irritation in both current conditions and Gabonese character traits.

For several years, with the help of the euphoria of the oil "boom," the image of a rich Gabon went to our heads: oil galore, uranium, manganese and timber, to cite only the basic raw materials. Until the sudden swelling of cities such as Port-Gentil and Libreville, Gabonese consumers were practically self-sufficient as regards their food needs.

Cities such as Libreville shot up from 50,000 to 180,000 inhabitants, as reported by the last demographic census. Port-Gentil, a sleepy town bitten by the oil bug, now has over 60,000 inhabitants. These cities have very large foreign communities which, boasting of their high salaries, demand living conditions comparable to those of Europe or the big African metropolises. What is more, the whims and demands of these expatriate workers, who do not receive incomes half as large in their countries of origin, are not always justifiable: the nouveau-riche mentality does not only affect the well-to-do Gabonese class.

By means of Boeing 747 flights from Bordeaux, the Canary Islands or Casablanca, we import fruits and fresh vegetables at premium prices, luxury

apparel bearing the most prestigious labels, big American gas-guzzling cars since "small Japanese cars" and classic European automobiles are inadequate marks of "standing."

Regularly, major jewelers such as Mauboussin, Cartier and Perrin exhibit in the luxury hotels of the capital pearl necklaces and diamond rivieres which are the equivalent of 200 months' wages of a rank-and-file laborer being paid 50,000 CFA francs, even though he is among the highest paid in French-speaking Africa.

#### Ministers on the Grill

Ostentation is not exempt from danger, as it incites envy and imitation. Silk gowns are replacing the traditional printed cotton dresses; and President Omar Bongo was outraged by mothers who, choosing luxury and comfort, were going so far as to push their young daughters toward "handsome gentlemen" with gold rings and generous wallets.

Prostitution, which was an activity practically absent or at least discreet 10 years ago, began to flourish, then to spread to the central districts and hotels. The chief of state did not fail to taunt those young ladies of questionable virtue who frequent the parking lot of the "Rapontchombo" Hotel at nightfall in search of lonely businessmen.

The conclusion of the Gabonese chief of state, after this marathon of political interchange lasting six and one-half hours, consisted of several clear ideas. In the first place, the lack of communication between rulers and ruled: information is not passed between members of the government who initiate reforms or decisions whose meaning and scope escape the people most of the time.

Consequently, President Omar Bongo has decided that the televised program "The Files of the RTG" (Gabonese Radio-Television) should resume its previous schedule. Every minister in turn will be on the grill to explain his positions and not to describe in dismal tones the organizational chart of his department which the televiewer does not understand and does not give a hoot about the fact that this ministry is autonomous or that another ministry handles National Education and Popular Education simultaneously.

If money is the sinews of war, persuasion is the sinews of political consensus. A cliché, perhaps, but one which is worth its weight in truth in a country in which traditional motivations are falling one by one in deference to new gods: social success, material comfort, travels abroad, etc.

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SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING SUGAR PRODUCTION GOAL REPORTED

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 8 Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Hien Solo: "SODESUCRE: With 166,000 Tons This Year, 97 Percent of Production Objectives Are Achieved"]

[Text] This year, 166,000 tons of sugar were produced by the country's 6 refineries, which represents 97 percent of the objectives set at the start of the campaign. However, according to Mr Kouame Kra, general manager of SODESUCRE [Company for the Development of Sugar Cane Plantations, and the Industrialization and Marketing of Sugar], the objectives could have been exceeded by far, had it not been for occasional cash shortages which brought many plants to a stop for lack of oil products. Also, according to Mr Kouame Kra, the campaign started late at certain refineries because of the delayed arrival of spare parts. As a result, the end of the campaign was disturbed by the rainy season.

In addition to these problems, for which responsibility lies elsewhere, there were some management problems. The latter will be reviewed in detail for a week in Borotou-Koro, by the refinery managers and their close associates, the general managers. They will take stock of the operations of the past campaign and reexamine the difficulties encountered, the problems that arose, the solutions that were used, so as to draw conclusions and lessons which will make it possible to contemplate the future more serenely. The meeting will take place in committees and the conclusions will be published at the end of the week, during a ceremony chaired by the minister of Commerce, Mr Akoakan Edjampan Thiemele.

Last Saturday, the minister of Plan and Industry, Mr Maurice Seri Gnoleba, accompanied by his colleagues, Mr Bra Kanon, minister of Agriculture, and Mr Lamine Fadika, minister of Maritime Affairs, opened the meeting.

On this occasion, the minister of Plan and Industry pointed out the importance of agriculture which, he recalled, underlies our country's development, in spite of the low prices paid for agricultural products. The future of the Ivory Coast, he added, is based on the processing of our own raw materials and, in this respect, SODESUCRE, he said, provides an example, the induced effects of which must be developed.

## Valorization of By-Products

In the intervention he made to present SODESUCRE, its results and the importance of the Borotou-Koro meeting, Mr Kouame Kra said that "in view of the difficulties encountered in marketing brown sugar and its by-products, for which world prices have dropped sharply, one possible response would be to proceed further toward production of the finished product. That would mean refining brown sugar to produce white sugar, and also valorizing by-products locally, e.g. by using molasses to produce yeast, alcohol, cattle feed, etc."

This is undoubtedly a safe way to achieve profitability of our refineries, especially when it is known that, in addition to low prices on international markets, the Ivory Coast has not yet managed to secure quotas under the CEE/ACP [European Economic Community/African, Caribbean and Pacific countries] convention. And we must expect huge problems for our country when cruising speed has been achieved, i.e. when we can produce over 250,000 tons per year.

We are not yet there. Better, this year SODESUCRE has managed to reduce production costs per kilogram from 185 francs to 173 francs (exclusive of financial and amortization costs). But this is not the only reason for satisfaction: we must also mention the increased number of native cadres and their improved awareness and interest in their jobs. According to the general manager of SODESUCRE, this is essential and is a sure proof of the success of the Ivorian sugar-production plan which, in spite of this year's satisfactory results, shows internal deficiencies which Mr Kouame Kra did not conceal, feeling as he did that the Borotou-Koro seminary was just the place where to examine them in great detail.

Indeed, Mr Kra explained, "our personnel are not always fully qualified for the tasks that are entrusted to them. Besides, they are not always fully aware of realities.

- Concerning the management of SODESUCRE equipment, we have noted with regret the lack of care in maintaining it.

Therefore, action must be taken quickly to increase the personnel's training and awareness.

- Considering inventory management, there are many deficiencies. There is still no follow-up on consumption, nor on orders.

The immediate consequence is a high inventory which is intolerable in a modern enterprise during a time of crisis."

Mr Kouame Kra assured the authorities that measures are being taken to put an end to these conditions, and that the situation will soon improve.

Concerning control as a whole, SODESUCRE General Management recognizes that control has not always been what it should. As a result, there was a certain casualness which may have been detrimental to the company.



Therefore, Mr Kra stated, there again measures are being taken, especially to strengthen the internal audit force which, in addition to the manager, now consists of six agents. The frequency of their missions at the refineries and at headquarters, including the general manager's office, will be increased. Corrective action will immediately follow their reports and recommendations. Their immunity and independence from other agents will be increased. In particular, their action will be extended to headquarters, the financial manager's office, the purchasing department and the distribution department. At refineries, increased importance will be given to accounting, inventory management and personnel management.

#### Borotou-Koro - An Example of Dynamism

To achieve this year's production of 166,000 tons of sugar, SODESUCRE crushed 1,785,000 tons of sugar cane, i.e. 8 percent more than last year, representing a sugar production increase of 31,000 tons, i.e. 23 percent. According to Mr Kouame Kra, the difference between these two percentages shows a very high increase in the saccharose yield since, this year, 9.3 tons of sugar were obtained from every 100 tons of cane, against 8.15 tons last year.

The greatest cause for satisfaction this year is, of course, Ferke I, the output of which keeps increasing, but, above all, it is Borotou-Koro, a refinery for which one would not have given much. In fact, after a very bad campaign during its first year in operation, the Borotou-Koro refinery has now yielded unprecedented results and, relatively speaking, results that exceed those obtained by any other refinery.

This is because its management has regained strength. On the one hand, the last inter-campaign maintenance operations, although late, made for a good upkeep of the production equipment, especially of the plant which, according to technicians, has achieved record technical performances. On the other hand, the personnel is increasingly motivated to improve the results, and is helped in this by an improvement in the quality of the vegetable raw material due to a good irrigation during the campaign.

For all these reasons, sugar production reached 39,460 tons, compared with an objective of 34,200 tons, and molasses production 12,700 tons, compared with an objective of 14,000 tons, the refinery yield exceeding by far 11.34 tons. These are enviable results which deserve recognition when one is aware of the commendable efforts of the young refinery manager, Georges Bonnebaud, and his associates in taking up the challenge in spite of prophets of doom who were consistently pessimistic about Borotou-Koro, although this refinery possesses human resources capable of the best. At any rate, the results of the last campaign have proved that much.

MINISTER AKOTO YAO ON EDUCATION IN LCD'S, IVORY COAST

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 8 Jun 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Kebe Yacouba: "Is an Underdeveloped Country an Uneducated Country? The Ivorian School System Must Not Become a Kind of Commercial Enterprise, Minister Paul Akoto Yao Stated in His Conference"]

[Text] Is an underdeveloped country an undereducated country? Minister Paul Yao Akoto kept his word not to go into intellectual and philosophical speculations about the subject of his conference because, he believes, "it would be improper to approach this problem by celebrating our culture, although it is real and must be nourished and kept alive." In other words, according to the speaker, an underdeveloped country is not necessarily an undereducated country, contrary to a statement made by a Frenchman, Jean Fourastie. The actual question which developing countries must solve today, Mr Akoto stated, is that of matching their economic and social development and the development of their educational system. Therefore, from the outset, he attempted to parallel the efforts of nations to emerge from underdevelopment in a manner consistent with their aspirations, and the initiatives taken in the field of education. To make his point clear, the minister of National Education stressed the experiments made in some developing countries and backed this up with figures and references; he then considered the problems with which Ivory Coast is faced in the field of education.

The speaker first remarked that, if we compare two maps of the world, one showing the economic situation of nations, the other their rates of literacy, we can make an observation which could lead us to believe that underdevelopment is one of the many consequences of undereducation, or that undereducation will of necessity bring about underdevelopment. The map of illiteracy is the same as the map of poverty in the world. Most countries of the South show considerable deficiencies in the field of education.

The minister of National Education emphasized that, in the past 20 years, most such countries of the South have undertaken what amounts to a revolution in the field of education by devoting to it a significant part of their incomes. Third-World countries, Mr Akoto remarked, do not all have the same problems.



Whereas the poorest among them are making gigantic efforts to solve their economic problems through education, the richest see their development efforts hampered or delayed by inadequacies in their educational systems.

### Spectacular Figures

He mentioned the example of Iran which, in 1975, in spite of its oil resources, had to postpone large projects because of a lack of trained personnel. At about the same time, in Saudi Arabia, Mr Akoto stated, foreigners held 68 percent of supervisory and cadre positions. Closer to us, Nigeria had the sad reputation of being "an equipment graveyard" due to its lack of trained personnel to maintain modern equipment. The minister concluded that these countries "made the sudden experience that an influx of riches and durable goods does not constitute true development, unless it is backed up by the intellectual and technical capabilities of a population educated enough to control them, and this is all the more true of other, less fortunate, countries which, nevertheless, have understood that education is a prerequisite for development." With this conclusion, the speaker meant to stress the importance of education, at least of training, for the future of a country.

Aware of this pressing necessity, developing countries have engaged into what amounts to a fight against illiteracy. As a result, on the African continent, the proportion of young people from 6 to 23 who are enrolled in an educational institution has increased from 32.3 percent in 1975 to 41.8 percent in 1980.

In 1950, Mr Akoto said, the student bodies of developing countries totalled 930,000, i.e. 10 percent of the world total. In 1972, they numbered 7.6 million, i.e. 25 percent of the world total. In 1980, they represent about 30 percent of the total number of students enrolled in universities or colleges. These figures are quite spectacular. They prove that the countries of the South intend to overcome their underdevelopment through the training of men and women. Unfortunately, the minister of National Education also emphasized, during the same period Third-World population experienced an extraordinary growth which compromised these countries' efforts in the field of education and increased the differences between them.

The speaker then considered the variety of conditions existing in developing countries, using as examples countries like Egypt, India, Pakistan and Tunisia, which have become suppliers of trained manpower, whereas others, especially those which got rich fast thanks to an influx of oil dollars and to their smaller populations, are now lacking trained personnel. In the Gulf States, for instance, many supervisory jobs are held by Egyptians who, in their own country, would probably be "unemployed intellectuals." In this area, Mr Akoto Yao remarked, the services of Indian and Pakistani cadres are appreciated and, as a result, they find openings which they might not always find in their native countries.

Some comments from the speaker: "This may appear to be a sound distribution of needs and abilities; nevertheless, you can imagine how much financial and human resources have been lost or poorly used in the process." Evaluating

various school system reforms, all (or almost all) of which have been applied in the Third World, Minister Akoto pointed out a characteristic they have in common: "All these reforms were intended to create closer ties between schools and the job market." He discussed the reform of the Indian educational system where the secondary school system is now entirely centered on vocational training, the objective being to produce many mid-level technicians and to reduce considerably the number of admissions to universities and colleges. With different methods, the People's Republic of China is doing about the same thing, the speaker underlined. As for Singapore, it derived its inspiration from the "Japanese model," and instituted "a drastic selection system at all levels." As for Africa, Mr Paul Akoto Yao gave as an example the Tanzanian experiment with UJAMAA [expansion unknown] villages, where the elementary school has become a community education center which is supposed to fulfill the needs of the community as a whole. The objective of the Tanzanian educational system is that the people should be educated strictly to fulfill the requirements of the rural society in which they will have to live.

#### The Ivorian Educational System

The various experiments made here and there prompted the minister of National Education to ponder over the relations that exist between the educational system and the production system: Should the production system impose its priorities, and the school provide training strictly to meet the requirements of the economy? Should the educational system have authority to develop independently, according to its own standards and objectives? Finally, is it possible to organize some interaction between the two systems? These questions led the speaker to consider the specific problems of the Ivorian educational system. To evaluate this system, he chose to start by quoting figures: in 1960, 200,406 students were enrolled in elementary schools, 8,326 in secondary schools, and 145 in colleges and universities. Fifteen years later, in 1975, there were 672,707 students in elementary schools, 102,387 in secondary schools, and 8,000 in universities and colleges. In 1980, there were 1 million students in elementary schools, 200,000 in secondary schools, and 16,000 in universities and colleges.

In 20 years, the number of students was multiplied by 5 in elementary schools, by 12 in secondary schools, and by 55 in universities and colleges. These figures need no comments; they are the result of the economic expansion which the Ivory Coast experienced during these years. The efforts made by the state were supplemented by those of rural communities which, besides, are still financing the construction of primary schools, which often requires considerable sacrifices.

The country's efforts have not been restricted to increasing the number of students, Mr Paul Akoto Yao noted, for the content of our school programs has changed considerably during that period, our constant care being to adapt it to Ivorian realities. Among other things, he mentioned the School Television Service in elementary schools, which he justified by saying that it made it possible to ensure the transition to a mass educational system under difficult conditions. No matter what one may think of television as an

educational media, the minister of National Education remarked, some of its contributions are here to stay because they represent a window on the outside world and help integrate schools into society. According to the speaker, there have been reforms in secondary schools, especially with respect to the French, history and geography programs, and the introduction of physics, chemistry and technology in middle schools. As far as university and colleges are concerned, Mr Akoto mentioned the creation of structures which are directly "linked" to the job market, including schools like the ENSTP [expansion unknown], the INSET [National Institute for Advanced Technical Studies], the ENSA [National College of Agronomy] and the ENS [National Advanced School]. We should not forget, he said, that the Faculty of Medicine, the School of Pharmacy, the Institute for Odonto-Stomatology, the University Vocational Training Center (CIFOP), are producing graduates who have no trouble finding suitable jobs.

### Interaction Between the Two Systems

Concerning the training of educators, Mr Akoto indicated that his department is making satisfactory progress toward Ivorization. Thus, for the school-year 1981-82, 2,140 out of 2,781 teachers of literature were Ivorians, i.e. 76 percent. This proportion is of only 21 percent among science teachers.

The minister stated that, considering the efforts accomplished, it is hard to say that the educational system has developed independently with no concern for the needs of the economy. The Ivory Coast, he said, has not placed its educational system under the yoke of its production system. Rather, he added, there was an interaction between the two systems.

Minister Akoto would have been accused of complacency and of blowing his own horn if he had not pointed to the great evils which are affecting our educational system and are a cause of concern for all Ivorians. Among these evils, the speaker mentioned two: the difficulties of admission in secondary schools, and the problem of graduate employment. Concerning admission into the lower grade of secondary schools, the minister of National Education unambiguously stated that, even if there were more such schools, we must realize that "for a long time to come, the general and technical secondary schools will not be in a position to admit all students having completed the fifth elementary grade." "We are confronted with a problem of capacity, for we now have one place for every six or seven applicants."

According to Mr Akoto, the creation of agricultural training centers, recommended by the Seventh Congress of the Party, would remedy the dramatic situation of tens of thousands of children who cannot be admitted in high schools.

Speaking of "unemployed intellectuals," Minister Akoto said that, of the 800 who filed an application with the Ministry of Labor, some 300 still have no jobs, essentially law and economic science graduates. Whereas the problem is serious, the speaker said, it is exaggerated, considering these figures, to refer to the university as "an unemployment factory."

Mr Akoto Yao underlined that the government is aware of these deficiencies and that, for that reason, the "commission on education at the development

department of the Political Bureau" suggested to redefine the role of higher education in the Ivory Coast. In addition, the idea of creating new options to supplement the specialized training provided by the University, of offering credits for Mechanization and Computers or for Statistics, the organization of on-the-job training periods, according to the minister, prove that there is a real desire to transform the University so as to adapt it to the requirements of our economy.

#### Selection Through Orientation

In conclusion, the speaker stressed the necessity of preserving a selective admission system for university-level colleges. As far as admission into faculties is concerned, he recalled the spirit of the orientation system:

"We must," he said, "replace the former system of selection through failure during the course of studies--resulting in heavy financial and human costs to the nation--by a system of selection through orientation which will take into account both the abilities of the students and the admission capacity. This should make it possible to lower the rate of failure at the University and facilitate access to the job market."

Making a personal reflection on an educational system that would be too closely linked to the job market, the minister of National Education said that it would be "dangerous" to attempt a total adhesion of general education and initiation into the job market. The school would then become a sort of enterprise, and the enterprise would become a school. In the Ivory Coast, Mr Akoto remarked, "we did not wish to be that radical, our political philosophy demands that we progress as safely as possible and preserve that precious possession, freedom."

After the minister's speech, an interesting debate was expected, because of the high quality of the speaker and of most of those who had come (teachers and students). However, there was no debate worth mentioning. The few interventions made actually dealt only with futilities.

Yet, that speech could have given rise to many interesting questions.

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CSO: 4719/1126

ANEEROOD JUGNAUTH PLEDGES TO WORK IN COUNTRY'S INTEREST

Port Louis HORIZONS NOUVEAUX in French 6-12 Jun 82 pp 6-7, 11

[Interview with Aneerood Jugnauth, future prime minister, In Vacoas; date not given]

[Excerpts] On the eve of the elections, HORIZONS NOUVEAUX offers readers an interview with the man who, at the highest level, will personify the change toward which the entire island of Mauritius will move on Friday.

We had left for the purpose of meeting the individual whose photograph is hung on walls all over the country in person. In Vacoas, we met a man very different from the official portrait, which doubly surprised us.

First of all, we were surprised by his simplicity, absolutely astonishing these days, especially on the part of a person who will soon occupy the highest post in the country. While ministers who are the so-called "best losers" act like the heirs of divine right and while the lowest appointed commissioner views himself as the legal (and moral?) owner of public property, Aneerood Jugnauth lives peacefully, simply, despite the role he will assume in a few days. He lives in a healthy way, without thereby underestimating what lies ahead.

Our second surprise was the frankness of his language, a frankness that might seem shocking, without being provocative, and that emerged throughout the interview. Instead of twisting or ignoring a perhaps embarrassing question, Aneerood Jugnauth stands firm and answers calmly and forcefully. As our readers will see, his answers might not please everyone and might even give rise to controversy, but they have the merit of being put forth with frankness and sincerity.

These are two qualities which, added to the profound simplicity of our interview, are absolutely rare values at the Government Palace today. We therefore present the interview with



Aneerood Jugnauth, future prime minister, in which one can discern -- especially in comparison with what we have known in the past -- a new tone, new frankness, already two small proofs of change.

[Question] Mr Jugnauth, every day that passes, and especially since the beginning of the election campaign on television, confirms the fact that you will be the country's future prime minister. What is your concept of the role of prime minister?

[Answer] Do you want my personal views on the question? For me, a prime minister serves an entire country, a people, the entire Mauritian nation, without any distinction as to community, race or color. In such a context, I cannot agree with Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, who has made statements hinting that this country belongs to a single community and that the government is also of a single community. I deny that assertion. Next, as prime minister, I will have the duty, after the elections, of creating the unity of the Mauritian nation, to ensure that every Mauritian feels that he is part of the nation, that he has rights like others, and that justice and the law protect all Mauritians equally. Then there will be my responsibilities with respect to problems affecting our society: unemployment, the economic crisis....

[Question] What are your priorities in that area?

[Answer] My priorities.... First of all, I would create that indispensable unity between all Mauritians after this election campaign, which will certainly leave scars. I would get the economy back on its feet, diversify our agriculture, create productive jobs, make the necessary changes in the constitution in order to make Mauritius a republic, restore partial elections, organize municipal and village elections as quickly as possible. Those are my priorities.

[Question] The MMM/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] intends to create a new ministerial post that is not contained in the constitution, that of deputy prime minister. What would the duties of your assistant be?

[Answer] It is true that the constitution speaks only about the prime minister and his prerogatives, but we in the MMM-PSM thought that it was necessary for the prime minister to be backed by a deputy. In addition, he will replace the prime minister in the case of the latter's absence.

[Question] Your interview published in the MAURICIEN of 27 May aroused quite a bit of reaction, especially on the left. Your statement concerning the policy of extending a hand to Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam as a sign of national recognition was particularly irritating to some. Within such a context, must we, in the name of reconciliation, forget the antinational role of Ramgoolam, specifically in the case of the sale of Diego Garcia, for example?

[Answer] We publicly denounced Ramgoolam for his responsibility for the sale of part of our territory. History has recorded that shameful transaction, which can never be erased. But we also say that we have no intention of following a policy of bitterness or engaging in a witch hunt. Reconciliation must exist.

[Question] Does that mean that an MMM-PSM government could forget -- still within this spirit of national reconciliation -- the underhanded dealings for which many ministers are responsible?

[Answer] Listen, it is obvious that some persons will necessarily have to answer for some of their past actions. But you can certainly understand why I cannot, at this stage, tell you who will answer for what. Not until we have opened the files will we know what has to be done. At that time, if there are sanctions to apply, we shall do so.

[Question] The MMM-PSM is now asking voters to give them a better than two-thirds majority in Parliament in order to be able to make constitutional amendments, particularly regarding nationalizations. What do you expect to do in that area if, unfortunately, the alliance should not obtain that two-thirds majority?

[Answer] In that case, we would have to begin with the current priorities. Then we would have a public debate on the matter of nationalizations and we would file a motion aimed at amending the constitution with the Legislative Assembly. We would then see the reaction of the opposition, which at that time would have to face up to its responsibilities. Then, if necessary, we would be willing to go back to the voters on precise issues.

[Question] Do you intend to use the referendum formula in order to consult the people on these issues?

[Answer] Absolutely not. No, if necessary, we would go back to the voters for new elections. However, this does not mean that with the first difficulties, we would hold elections. We have an enormous amount of work to do. We have a program and commitments to respect. In the beginning, we must show our serious we are, demonstrate our capabilities. We will have to convince public opinion. Then, later, when the time comes, we shall go to the voters, if need be, on questions we may not have settled. But if we obtain the majority we are asking for from the people, we shall move rather quickly toward nationalizations.

[Question] The MMM-PSM has spoken of naming persons to head the regional administrations....

[Answer] That would only be a temporary measure while awaiting the municipal and village elections, which will take place rapidly. I hope that we will be able to organize them within 3 months. But in the meantime, we want to appoint persons to administrative positions. That is why we want, during this short transitional period, to have the cities administered by politically neutral persons.

[Question] Do you not believe that while awaiting the 11th, the municipal commissions will step up their pace of their underhanded dealings?

[Answer] The regional administration and the country are now on their knees. It is bankruptcy!



[Question] On 11 June, the MMM-PSM will inherit an administration accustomed to working at a certain speed. How do you expect to speed up that pace...in order to go hand in hand with the change?

[Answer] The change in administrative speed will depend on each minister, on his determination to bring about a change in thinking in the sector for which he will be responsible. That will also depend on the heads of the departments, of the ministries, the PS [Socialist Party] and the PAS [expansion unknown], and so on. It will depend on the cooperation we receive.

[Question] Do you fear a possible administrative boycott?

[Answer] Listen, based on the principle that the civil servant is neutral, that risk should not exist. The civil servant serves the government, not a party or an individual. I hope that that principle will be put into practice. I am convinced that the civil servants are sufficiently mature and that we shall have no problems of that nature.

[Question] The right is loyal only to its profits. It is to be feared that the right will seek, by every possible means, to upset the future leftist government. What would your attitude be if tomorrow the right should organize a management lockout?

[Answer] We have said and repeated and do so despite the fact that some people are not happy, that we want to head the country through dialogue. We know the country's situation, we know what difficulties we shall have to face and we do not want to act as dictators, because we have a philosophy and a vision of the Mauritius of the future. We want to achieve change, but as we have always said, amidst stability. We must take the country's economic situation and the people's aspirations into consideration. We shall have to bring about change by avoiding the type of sabotage you have just mentioned. We hope that that type of thing will not come about.

[Question] If that type of thing were to come about, you would take measures.

[Answer] No matter who governs in this case, they must take action.

We do not want to arrive at that type of situation. We are going to do everything possible to avoid it, but if ever such situations should exist, we would be forced to take the necessary measures as a responsible government.

[Question] In militant leftist milieus, they are beginning to criticize the MMM-PSM for reassuring the bourgeoisie by making concessions to it. What are your feelings on this?

[Answer] We have made no concessions and we have none to make. We merely have an ideal toward which we are moving, but which we cannot attain overnight. That ideal will be attained only through systematic work.

[Question] We are a few days away from the elections. What do you think of the election campaign?

[Answer] Our campaign is perfect, peaceful, and is moving along without disorder, with respect for the adversary. Naturally, there are schemes to make people believe that a given candidate was the victim of our supporters, all in order to make people believe in tension that does not exist!

[Question] In 1976, at the time of the television campaign, the PT [Labor Party] dropped "election bombs" at the last minute, such as free education. There are some rumors to the effect that the MMM-PSM is announcing popular measures in one of the last programs of the campaign. Is there a basis for such rumors?

[Answer] Everything that we had to announce, we did so long ago in our program. Our cards are on the table and we have no "surprises" to announce. And we shall engage in no last-minute demagoguery.

[Question] With the victory now won, the militants note with surprise that the bourgeois who were so recently fiercely antichange are now well-placed in the MMM, while certain others expect to enjoy personal advantages.

[Answer] How many of our adversaries yesterday have come to our philosophy! How many have become good members! If we thought as some do, the MMM would now be only a tiny group. With that way of thinking, we could not now lay a claim to power. Whether or not our sympathizers are bourgeois, they are above all Mauritians 100 percent and they have their place in this country. We have to head a country in the interest of everyone. We are going to preserve the independence of the institutions so that the meritocracy will triumph. I cannot understand the reaction of those militants.

[Question] Are you not afraid that your adversaries will take advantage of the latest demagogic measures during the final days of the campaign?

[Answer] The campaign of our adversaries is based on demagoguery. There are many examples: unemployment benefits, the creation of jobs. There is no doubt that they will use demagoguery, but the Mauritian people are too intelligent to get caught. And the young people know that last-minute offers will not lead them far. Young people know that we need a serious and planned change in order for there to be a lasting and not temporary improvement.

[Question] You have just spoken of temporary employment. Some persons newly hired by the government anxiously wonder whether with an MMM-PSM government, they do not risk losing their jobs.

[Answer] We have said this everywhere: We want to protect jobs, but there are many that are not productive. We in the MMM-PSM are going to rechannel certain jobs that are totally unproductive for the time being. In contrast, we want to get the economy back on its feet, create jobs and absorb unemployment little by little, until we have completely eliminated it. I guarantee that no one will be fired.

[Question] In the partial municipal elections in Rose Hill in 1979, you made a statement reprinted in the press. You said, after the defeat of the MMM, that the voters had no political maturity. Does that still hold true?

[Answer] Be careful! I would note that the phrase concerned a particular group of voters in a particular election. In that precise context, I maintain what I said and am not afraid to say it. I delivered that phrase with respect to certain persons, persons who had helped the MMM win in the 1977 municipal elections in Rose Hill and who then expected rewards, personal advantages. Those people then came to ask us favors and we, the MMM, had the courage to tell them that we did not follow such policies. Our team governed the city in the interest of its inhabitants, which disappointed those people, who then waged a campaign against us and supported our rivals in the partial municipal election. I am categorical on that point. I engage in active politics to serve the country, not to serve myself.

[Question] Your political enemies do not hesitate to use communal arguments within the framework of their campaign. Do you believe that the Mauritian voters are still sensitive to that type of language?

[Answer] Our adversaries are lower than low. Not only do they say that I insult the Hindus, that I am against certain castes -- which is totally false -- but they do worse than that. At private meetings, they take my family as targets: my wife and my daughter, of whom the worst things are said. I am convinced that the Mauritian people are clear-sighted enough to find the truth amidst their vileness and especially, to realize the purpose behind all the attacks.

[Question] Some political observers speak of a possible last-minute alliance between the PAN [expansion unknown] and the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] in order to bar the way to the MMM-PSM. What is your opinion on that matter?

[Answer] For us in the MMM-PSM, things are clear: PMSD, PT, RPL [Rally for Progress and Freedom], etc., etc.: It is all the same thing; it is the right. However, there were personality conflicts that prevented them from agreeing and Duval found himself outside the main alliance. There was especially the opposition between the Boolell clan, supported by Duval, and that of Ringadoo, supported by Jagatsingh. Ringadoo played his cards and won; that is all.

But nothing about the right would surprise me. For me, whoever elects Duval, Ramgoolam, Booleel, Ringadoo, Francois: It's all the same thing. I would not be at all surprised if an "arrangement" should be made on the eve of the elections.

[Question] In conclusion, Aneerood Jugnauth, what is your message to the Mauritians on the eve of the elections?

[Answer] I am asking the Mauritian people not to go into the elections blindly. Before voting, I am asking them to look back at everything they have had to suffer and accept over the past 5 years. I am asking them to look at the situation the country is in, the situation into which the Labor government and its allies has taken it. I am asking the people to reflect, to think whether the outgoing government has worked in the country's interest, if people think that the Labor Party and its allies can serve the interests of

the masses in the years to come, then I, Aneerood Jugnauth, am the first to tell those people to vote for that ticket.

But if the people believe that there is no hope with the rightist alliance and if they understand that change and the future are on the side of the MMM-PSM, then I am asking for a straight-line vote for our ticket, for all our candidates, without any distinction as to color, community or caste. I am asking the people of Mauritius to vote for an ideal, for a program: for change.

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# OUTLOOK FOR INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATIONS CALLED GLOOMY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 21 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Editorial]

[Text]

This newspaper will be the first to admit that the SWA settlement process is like a yo-yo — promising the one day, threatening the next.

Last week we expressed considerable optimism about a settlement because considerable optimism was expressed by all the parties to the dispute.

This week however the yo-yo seems to be on the down.

Main reason is the MPLA's standpoints that the withdrawal of the 18 000 Cuban troops in Angola must not be tied to a Namibian settlement while it is also argued that the presence of the Cubans in Angola is the product of an MPLA-Cuban bilateral agreement and has nothing to do with anyone else.

This is surely a serious sticking point.

The MPLA understandably will not want to be caught with its pants down by a sur-

prise SA strike into Angola once the implementation of the independence issue is under way (not that the South Africans would exploit the situation.)

And if its not the South Africans, the MPLA certainly doesn't want to be caught in the same way by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement; the MPLA knowing that Unita is already advancing militarily by the day, morally backed by the South African, Americans and others.

True, the US has put some attractive carrots under the MPLA's nose, the MPLA would like Swapo as its neighbour in Namibia and it would like to be relieved of the SADF and Unita strikes in southern Angola, but at what price?

Besides, it is unlikely that the Soviets, with vested interests in an MPLA-controlled Angola, would agree to risking the withdrawal of the Cubans and as such would probably put con-

siderable pressure on the top decision-making body of the MPLA to think twice about its actions.

And if the MPLA concurs with such thinking and then decides not to ask the Cubans to leave, then we have these questions:

- Will Swapo still risk the election?

- Will the other Frontline states side with the MPLA and Swapo if the latter also decides to remain allied to the MPLA?

- And what alternatives will the Western five then seek?

- And will SA and all the other parties agree to those alternatives?

No doubt, some or all of these questions will be answered in the New York discussions during the next week or two involving all the parties to the dispute (the internal parties being excluded).

On balance, however, the outlook (as for now) is gloomy.

PORT EXPANSION PROJECT DESCRIBED

Saint-Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 27, 28 May 82

[Article by Alain Dreneau: "The Site of the Future Port Is Getting Busy. The Curtain Is About To Rise"]

[27 May 82 p 10]

[Text] The curtain is about to rise on the port construction site, a large semicircular "stage" located between the highway that leads to the center of the town, the ZUP [zone scheduled for priority housing development] and the shore. The "show" which is about to begin will last at least three years. It will be the largest construction site Reunion has ever known. When 480 million francs have been invested and 9 million cubic meters of earth removed, modern facilities will come into being: the island's new port.

Exactly, what will these huge operations consist of? What is the construction site schedule? What large secondary facilities will be provided? TEMOIGNAGES will briefly answer these and some other questions in a series of articles which begins today.

The major operations to be completed during these three years on the construction site will be the following:

- digging of the basins both above and under water;
- construction of the quays;
- construction of two sea walls to protect the port entrance.

Digging the Basins

Initially, stretches of water were to have been obtained by the traditional dredging method: the dredge enters through the sea and digs as it moves forward. The Dutch are the leaders when it comes to this method, and their assistance was required some 10 years ago when the port was enlarged to the south.

However, the successful bidder for the contract (see "Who Will Do What?" below) has decided to use a different method, more economical and better adapted to the stony ground of Plaine-des-Galets. In fact, all digging will be done from the dry land.

Underwater digging will be done with draglines, i.e. large cranes equipped with buckets. The method consists in throwing the bucket to the end of the crane boom and bringing it back by means of a cable when it is full. Each throw of the bucket makes it possible to bring back 8-10 cubic meters of earth, i.e. approximately 20 tons.

#### A 70-Meter Long Boom

The two cranes which will be used for the job are true monsters, with booms 60-70 meters long. Each of them includes a power station and a central hydraulic unit (to control all the jacks).

The first crane arrived the day before yesterday at the port of Pointe-des-Galets on board the Ville-de-Genes. Unassembled of course. Its assembly will require no less than two full months; that gives you an idea of its size!

The port construction site will also include less spectacular and more traditional digging operations, viz. all digging above water-level will be done by heavy trucks.

At times, it will be necessary to go down from the 8-9 meter mark to water-level (1 meter mark), the crane and its bucket doing the rest so that the bottom of the future basins will lie at the -13 meter mark.

The digging will last as long as work on the site. The opening of the channel (requiring the removal of 250 thousand cubic meters of earth) will be done when on-site work is almost completed, by the Digging Service Corps working under the direction of the contractor.

Earth removal by trucks is scheduled to start in July. The crane will start digging as soon as it is assembled, early in August. It will not accomplish its termite work blindly, but methodically, starting with a huge 500-meter long trench at the site of the future quay.

#### Construction of the Quay

The construction of the quay is the second largest operation on the site. The prefabrication of the quay elements will start at the same time as the excavation.

The contractor for the concrete work (see "Who Will Do What?" below) is already at work. For the past few days, car drivers following the port shore have been puzzled by a large strangely-shaped wall. This is the future grading station for the materials that will be used to make concrete. A first concrete unit is also being assembled. A second one will soon be installed. They will provide all the concrete required for the quay and sea-wall elements.



The prefabrication of hollow elements for the future quay will start in July when tests and adjustments are completed. The quay will be installed starting early in 1983. It will then wait until the port is filled, in 1985, to welcome the first ships, ships that are too large to enter the present port.

#### Who Will Do What?

The project is owned by the state. The prime contractor is the Departmental Directorate of Equipment (DDE). To follow up and coordinate all the operations, the DDE has created a special department within its Maritime Division, which is headed by Mr LeClech.

This new department, which will last only as long as on-site operations, is the Port Expansion Subdivision, headed by Mr Choux, and with a staff of some 20 people.

The successful bidder for the overall contract is GTMI (Marseilles International Public Works). It has selected two subcontractors:

- Reunion Travaux (Tomi Group) for all the concrete work;
- Bourbon Transports for the transportation of almost all the materials.

[28 May 82 p 12]

In addition to the digging of the basins and the construction of the quays (see TEMOIGNAGES dated 27 May), other construction operations will also take place on the site: two sea walls will be built on each side of the entrance channel.

#### Construction of the Sea Walls

The core of the two sea walls will be made of ungraded material reinforced with rock-fill of increasing size--natural rock-fill up to 5 tons, then artificial rock-fill (concrete blocks). The largest elements will have a weight of 50 tons and will form the first line of defense against the onslaught of the waves.

Construction of the sea walls will require the opening of a quarry from which basalt blocks will be extracted. The site selected is on the Possession territory, at the junction of the two Lataniers gulleys. It will be the first quarry of this type in Reunion.

Its operation will start in August-September 1982 and will last for 8-10 months. The sea walls are scheduled to be built next year, from April to November 1983, during the season when there is no cyclones. This is because a sea wall is fragile and could not resist the heavy ocean swell as long as its nose is not completed. This stage of the operations will be the most spectacular: in particular, it will involve the use of giant cranes that can move 50-ton blocks over distances of 40 meters, a rather impressive performance.

## Earth Removal Plan

The designers of the project were faced with a major problem: what to do with the 9 million cubic meters of earth that will be removed, where to put them? The method selected to dig the port affects the project as a whole. If dredging from the sea had been used, the only possible way would have been to dump the earth removed at a distance from the shore--which, by the way, would have affected the submarine flora and fauna.

However, when digging is entirely carried out from the dry land, the problem is different, and it is possible to use these millions of cubic meters, these mountains of earth to improve the future port surroundings. The earth removed will be used to remodel the relief at the back of the port so as to provide suitable sites for new facilities, an artisanal or industrial zone, recreation or sports areas.

## Hills in the Plain

All these developments underlie the earth-moving plan. The plan was designed by DDE in cooperation with the Port and Possession municipal authorities, and with the assistance of architects (ARSAC). A number of areas have been selected to dump the earth removed. There are four of them:

- the area called Ravine-a-Marquet, to the east of the future port (on the side of Possession). Two 25-meter high pyramids of grass-covered earth will mark the entrance to the port site. They will form a sort of belvedere overlooking the quay facilities. Terraced plateaus will be provided to receive an artisanal zone or recreation facilities.
- the area called Artisanal Zone, to the west (on the Port side). A 500-meter long and about 100-meter wide hill will stretch from north to south. It will include plateaus for sports grounds, including a field with natural terraces. It will also receive the future Port cemetery, half overlooking the landscape, half overlooking the sea. Finally, it will receive the city's artisanal zone.
- the area called Industrial Zone. This will involve a plateau of over 50 hectares, located at the back of the port and intended to receive the future industrial zones of the community in decades to come.
- the development of the shore up to Pointe-du-Phare. Undulations will be made between the forest and the shoreline, according to the development scheme prepared by architect Quentin for the Port community.

During the coming years, we are going to witness radical changes in the whole site. A ballet of enormous machines will soon begin. When on-site operations are completed, three years from now, the first ship will be able to enter the port... The new port of Reunion will be born; it should represent a first-rate tool in the country's development.

AMERICAN 'INFILTRATION' IN NATION'S ECONOMY CONDEMNED

Dakar FAGARU in French No 3, Apr 82 p 6

[Article by Boubakar Kamara: "Senegal Goes American"]

[Text] American infiltration into the Senegalese economy basically constitutes an increasingly intolerable influence. The squandering of public funds, corruption and the disastrous management of national resources, particularly in the field of agriculture, have led to a crisis that is without precedent in the history of our country.

With its well-known inability to find a way out of such a situation, the Senegalese Government had to call on the two principal international financial institutions controlled by the United States, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The government signed an extended credit agreement with the IMF for an overall amount fixed at \$243 million, payable in three installments. The IMF cancelled this agreement in July 1981; it was replaced by a confirmation agreement for the year 1981-1982. The cancellation of the extended credit agreement was basically the result of the poor performance of the economy in 1980, the first year of the mid-range economic and financial recovery plan. The World Bank granted the government a structural adjustment loan amounting to \$60 million.

The antisocial corrective measures required by these two institutions, which are in the service of American international imperialism in particular, constituted the prior requirement for investments by the lenders, who met in October 1981 to support the neocolonial regime. Previously, the Club de Paris had worked out a rescheduling of the debts in the amount of \$22 billion.

The United States was only too ready, and for good reason! The U.S. Government opened negotiations with the Senegalese Government in 1979, which resulted in a support program for the recovery plan, a program that went from 1980 to 1986, or 1 year beyond the VI Plan (as published).

Among other things, the contract signed provided that the government would move to liberalize the economy and disengage itself from certain social economic sectors and from the agricultural arena. Moreover, within the framework of agreed projects, American enterprises would be used as much as possible to supply materials and products. USAID undertook more than 27

projects in all, involving numerous activities in rural affairs. American imperialism was interested particularly in three regions: the Fleuve, the Sine-Saloum and the Casamance. For this reason, USAID signed contracts with SAED [Société d'Amenagement et de l'Exploitation des Terres du Delta et de la Voltée du Sénégal] (in the Fleuve region); the SODEVA [Société de Développement et de Vulgarisation Agricole] (in the peanut-raising basin); and the SOMIVAC [Société de Mise en Valeur de la Casamance] (in Casamance).

Moreover, American capital is represented in the SODAGRI [expansion unknown] to the amount of 50 percent, in the PRS [expansion unknown] (for the rice development project in Sehio) and in the PIDAC (Integrated Development Project for Casamance). In the social field, efforts of American penetration included depending on the Peace Corps and American Catholic welfare groups. These organizations, which are closely controlled by the CIA, have a well-established intelligence mission and a mission to develop friendly contacts.

To provide for the future, the United States has imposed a certain direction in agricultural research, using primarily American universities and reducing the work of domestic organizations.

Such, in broad outline, was the American strategy for the 5-year period, before the government's resignation due to the collapse of the economy.

9772

CSO: 4719/973

NEW ELECTORAL CODE SAID TO FAVOR MINORITY BOURGEOISIE, PS

Dakar FAGARU in French No 3, Apr 82 p 1

[Editorial by Babacar Sane: "An Antidemocratic Electoral Law For a Made-to-Order National Assembly"]

[Text] The month of May 1982 will remind all Senegalese that the working class is facing a battle on two dialectically connected fronts. The first is the defense of immediate interests through the struggle to improve living and working conditions within the framework of trade union action. The second is defense of future interests through the replacement of a government now in the hands of the bourgeois minority by a worker majority.

With this in mind, the vote of the National Assembly during its first session for the year 1982 on Law 10/82, the electoral law, becomes all-important since it fulfills a plan, symbolizes a policy and affirms the will to enslave the working masses.

This made-to-order law is actually from every point of view contrary to the interests of the workers who constitute the majority. Suffrage based on property qualifications and requiring a security deposit can be used to eliminate the economically disadvantaged. The method of balloting selected includes a threshold limit of five percent and mixed balloting on a national list and a departmental list, with equal numbers of deputies on the two lists. Moreover, this law puts chicanery, corruption and blackmail to the voters ahead of choice based on the policies and platforms of the parties. When one realizes that state resources are often mixed with those of the PS [Socialist Party] and that the administrative authorities are either PS leaders or allies of that party, one can easily see what class interests this kind of voting expresses, and one readily sees, contrary to what the president of the republic has declared, that the new electoral law really favors one party, the PS.

Moreover, this new law is dangerously old fashioned in the sense that it conceals the real dangers of the resurgence of regional, even tribal, sentiments, thus jeopardizing national unity in favor of selfish group interests.

Workers of this country should thus understand that a National Assembly based on such foundations is not for them. It will never defend anything but the

interests of the exploiting class. It will adopt laws like law 01/80 to perpetuate the hold of capitalism on our country, by utilizing neocolonialism.

That is why this month of May 1982, which should have seen intellectual and manual workers, workers and peasants united, in different situations, true, but nonetheless united in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, which, for the LDMPT [Ligue Democratique--Movement Pour le Parti du Travail], as of now constitutes the best refutation of those who, thanks to this electoral law, will cry victory for the PS bourgeois minority in power.

9772

CSO: 4719/973

## IVORIAN PARTICIPATION IN CAPITALIZATION OF ADRIPECHE HAILED

Dakar AFRICA in French No 141, May 82 pp 48-49, 106

[Text] An event of great political and economic importance took place a short time ago which, unfortunately, has passed almost unnoticed in the two countries concerned: the Ivory Coast and Senegal. What is involved is the first practical manifestation of unity between the two countries, that is, the purchase of a large part of the capitalization of the Senegalese company ADRIPECHE [Dakar]ian Shipowners for the Reorganization of the Fishing Industry by Ivorian private interests. Up until then relations between the Ivory Coast and Senegal were characterized by commercial exchanges which the Senegalese-Ivorian grand commission had been trying to develop with some difficulty. In the past, several industrialists or merchants in Senegal had established branches or subsidiaries in Abidjan; however, these were French promoters. As a significant example, we cite the Bareil family which was able in Abidjan with the same success as in Dakar to renovate a large industrial milk-products plant.

## First Participation in Capitalization

However, there was no transfer of national capital in spite of the wishes of the Ivorian and Senegalese chiefs of state to see the development of dialogue and cooperation between the two countries in the field.

A first step has now been taken by Ivorian nationals, in this instance the Djibo Group of Bouake, featuring the presentation made at the initiative of one of the principal architects of the development of Senegalese industrial fishing and its processing, Mr Adrien.

In 1979, this man, who owns the ADRIEN Shipping Company, had established the ADRIPECHE company with the help of private Senegalese stockholders. This company experienced spectacular growth: with capital of 20 millions at the outset, 40 percent held by nationals and 60 percent by Adrien, who later became Senegalese, the capitalization rose to 203 million while business income increased from 300 million in the first year to 4.1 billion CFA francs in 1980-81. This business income was derived entirely from exports, with 50 percent going to Europe in the form of choice fish, fish fillets and first-quality, deep-frozen shrimp and 50 percent to Africa, particularly the Ivory Coast, in the form of unprocessed, deep-frozen fish of various kinds.



## A High-Performance Senegalese Enterprise

It should be noted that such expansion could be achieved thanks to continual improvement in productivity and quality abetted by a bold policy of systematic reinvestment of all profits and supported by favorable provisions of the Senegalese Code of Investments. Because of this action, total investments rose from 50 million to 950 million CFA francs.

We have been told that certain Senegalese officials were surprised by and had even deplored the entry of the Ivorians into such a high-performance enterprise. That tells us to what degree parochial nationalism is still prevalent and how great are the problems in promoting regional economic unity, the only way to set up markets of suitable size for the modern world.

## Reciprocal Interests

At present, above and beyond the political interest in this participation in capitalization which places Senegalese and Ivorian capital on an equal footing, the economic advantages are obvious. The Ivory Coast is getting something out of this arrangement as it permits the PROMOFROID Company, the largest Ivorian fish importer, to be assured of a regular supply of fish. To this end, the company was planning to invest in deep-freeze plants on the coast of Africa and Mauritania which could offer an interesting investment site.

That is to say, complete interest in Adrien's initiative which will allow Senegal to assure for itself a solid and important position in the Ivorian market for the sale of its production. Proof of this is the fact that ADRIPECHE exports to the Ivory Coast have nearly doubled since the arrival of the Ivorians.

Another advantage for Senegal and indirectly for the Ivory Coast is that capital recovered through the cession of part of ADRIPECHE's capital will be totally invested in the ADRIEN Shipping Company. This company has 12 trawlers flying the Senegalese flag, representing an investment of 750 million CFA francs and earning business income of 1 billion CFA francs. The infusion of new capital will permit the conversion of certain vessels into freezer ships to give greater value added to seafood products and to build new shipyards for ship repair and maintenance and cold-storage facilities and offices on the fishing wharf. This will produce a general improvement in fishing equipment which should result in an increase in deliveries of fresh fish to ADRIPECHE.

## An Example to Follow

We hope that this initial Ivorian intervention will induce other Senegalese and Ivorian operators to invest in the two national economies to strengthen the bonds which already link the Ivory Coast and Senegal and to gradually set up markets of economically feasible size wherever possible.

8143

CSO: 4719/1010

IRAQI ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS, TIES DISCUSSED

AB240700 Freetown Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] The first accredited Iraqi ambassador to Sierra Leone, Mustafa Assad (an-Nashabandi), today presented his letters of credence to President Dr Siaka Stevens at State House.

During the presentation ceremony, President Stevens remarked that even though Iraq and Sierra were separated by great distance, they shared certain principles which are manifested in their membership in the United Nations Organization and the nonaligned movement. President Stevens congratulated Iraq for the able manner in which the president of the 36th session of the UN General Assembly, a distinguished son of Iraq, chaired that session. President Stevens also noted the efforts being made by the government of Iraq to host the seventh summit of the nonaligned movement in Baghdad next September and hoped that in the true spirit of the movement, every effort would be made to create the right atmosphere to attract maximum participation at the meeting. The head of state also welcomed the ambassador's desire to strengthen the cordial relations between Iraq and Sierra Leone and assured him that every effort be made to make his assignment in this country a fruitful and rewarding one.

Earlier, Ambassador (an-Nashabandi) expressed the true desire of the Republic of Iraq to strengthen its relations with Sierra Leone. He said that in spite of the circumstances of the war imposed on it, his country was continually endeavoring to consolidate Afro-Arab ties and to coalesce their common struggle against apartheid, Zionism and racial discrimination. The ambassador said that Iraq would devote its best endeavors to ensure the success of the seventh summit of the nonaligned movement.

At the ceremony were the acting first vice president and minister of finance, Salia Jusu Sheriff, the acting second vice president and minister of development and economic planning, Dr Shaka Kanu, cabinet ministers and senior civil servants.

CSO: 4700/1460

## RATIONALE FOR BUTHELEZI COMMISSION FINDINGS ANALYZED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 13 Jun 82 p 34

[Article by Lawrence Schlemmer: "We Said It First and We Said It Better..."]

[Text]

**THE President's Council constitutional report has been rightly welcomed for digging the grave of the time-hallowed principle that whites should govern South Africa all on their own.**

At the same time it has raised many questions by making no provisions at all for the inclusion of black people in the parliamentary process.

Its composition and the circumstances of its establishment had long forewarned that it would limit its proposals to whites, Coloured people and Indians, but some hopeful observers expected a little more — at least some broad and tentative discussion of fresh constitutional options for at least some blacks.

But the report is emphatic: democracy under the consociational system which it proposes would be impossible if blacks were included.

What's the basis for such a conclusion? How does another recent commission established by the Kwa-Zulu Government as a black political initiative — the Buthelezi Commission — deal with this central issue?

In cold analytical terms, democracy is indeed highly problematic in a starkly

divided society like ours.

The highly visible, symbolic divisions of race, particularly between whites and blacks, co-incide with huge income differences — white and affluent versus black and poor.

Powerful currents of black nationalism and a shared spirit of grievance could politically unite blacks against a numerically much smaller white group which is internally divided in terms of language, culture and political ideology.

The potential for disruptive political conflict which would undermine democracy is very great.

Democracy assumes that parties and groups in opposition to one another at least share an underlying loyalty to the basic form of government, the economic order and to key symbols of national identity.

In other words, however rough the democratic political game, the basic rules of the game are accepted and defended by most parties.

Many serious political scientists, the chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council no doubt included, question whether blacks can be expected to honour the rules of our political

game.

## In depth

Will black people not turn the tables of discrimination, limit white-dominated free-enterprise, insist on universal support for a standard black nationalism, suppress opposition parties, change time-hallowed place names and make whites feel foreign and insecure in their own country?

The Buthelezi Commission under Professor GDL Schreiner, and which included a wide cross-section of over 40 whites, coloured people, Indians and blacks, considered these questions in depth.

It took the fullest account of the arguments in favour of political partition of the homelands and of black people from whites.

Yet it concluded that a shared political system for blacks, whites and other groups was not only feasible and viable as a democratic form, but also essential for long-term security and development.

How and why did the Buthelezi Commission reach this conclusion?

While the commission recognised all the problems, it also recognised that threats to the demo-

cratic political order and to the basic economic institutions would not be avoided by excluding black people from joint political participation.

The Soweto disturbances of 1976, for example, had a very damaging effect on economic confidence and growth in South Africa.

The commission, through extensive research contracted out to independent organisations, established the disquieting fact that since 1977 the proportion of black people expressing anger, impatience and a militant outlook has increased from a minority of roughly one-third to more than 50 percent.

## Crime

Secondly, the close geographic inter-dependence between the fragmented blocks of territory of KwaZulu and "white" Natal, and the overwhelming reliance of the latter on KwaZulu labour simply forces a need for inter-dependent planning, administration and decision-making.

Health problems like cholera and typhoid, social problems like crime and stock-theft and myriad other phenomena sweep across political boundaries and cannot be controlled with politically separated administrations.

Thirdly, whether white politicians like it or not, the larger majority of black people, including migrant workers from rural areas, see their prospects for economic progress and social advancement as being centred on the multi-racial urban and industrial centres.

## Limited

When they think of political interests they think of issues affecting their lives in places like Durban, Johannesburg and other developed centres.

Politics for them loses

most of its meaning if it is partitioned off and limited to affairs inside a homeland. Therefore political partition will make peacefully-oriented homeland-based black leaders irrelevant to their own followers.

The commission believed that partition would create a black vacuum which would be filled by the forces of violence and disruption.

These and many other reasons moved it to accept that black people should be fully included in the constitutional arrangements for a secure and prosperous future.

How did the commission deal with the problems which the President's Council saw as insurmountable?

The President's Council proposes a particular political process to gain balanced agreement between divided segments or groups in a society.

This is in fact a high-level "coalition" of accepted leaders from different groups who gain consensus among themselves and resolve conflicts before they disrupt parliament.

The President's Council has this process in mind for the mixed cabinet of whites, Coloured and Indian people.

Professor Arend Lijphart, perhaps the foremost world authority on this form of government is referred to by the President's Council.

Professor Lijphart served on the Buthelezi Commission and guided its many constitutional proposals.

He has made the point that while a consociation is not facilitated by deep divisions and a large imbalance in numbers, it is the only constitutional form able to cope with these problems where the alternative is violence and disruption.

He recommended a consociational structure for

KwaZulu and Natal and the commission built on this recommendation.

He has also publicly disavowed that blacks should be excluded from any constitutional arrangements for South Africa.

An open consociation for Natal-KwaZulu, very briefly, would involve a further delegation of powers to Natal, but with Natal and KwaZulu together remaining fully part of the Republic, as a federal province.

## Executive

Initially, the (larger) Executive of Natal and the Cabinet of KwaZulu could combine, with Indian and Coloured representatives, into a racially balanced negotiating body.

This balanced body would become the executive of the combined region of KwaZulu-Natal.

Advised by an expert commission it would draw boundaries of electoral regions, to which many powers would be delegated, as much as the President's Council recommends for local government.

These voting regions would be drawn, after negotiation, in such a way as to reflect socio-economic characteristics of the voters and, depending on what is negotiated, they would elect a number of representatives to a legislative assembly.

Since the size, shape and number of voters in the regions would be an outcome of negotiation, so would the proportion of races in the assembly.

Hence, a fixed ratio of representatives following the proportions in the general population would be most unlikely although there would be a majority of blacks.

Since the ratio in effect would have been fully negotiated, once accepted it would be supported by the leaders involved.

## Control

Further safeguards for minorities are built into the formula — proportional representation in constituencies avoiding the winner-take-all principle, a minority veto, a Bill of group and individual rights and a test of legislation by our independent judiciary.

The central government would retain control of the army, foreign affairs and certain other major functions.

Furthermore, the balanced consociational executive would initiate legislation after agreement among its members. This is perhaps the most important guarantee of minority rights.

A pre-condition for success would be to blur and soften the lines of racial conflict. Hence reform in socio-economic conditions and accelerated economic development would accompany the process.

Group areas would have to be phased out to allow people to live in areas suited to their socio-economic circumstances rather than their race.

This would make a realignment of political loyalties possible at all levels and reduce serious racial antagonisms.

The President's Council and the Buthelezi Commission share the same political theory of consociation.

The Buthelezi Commission, however, has simply anticipated what is inevitable and dealt with the central problems affecting our shared future.

PROBLEMS IN COUNTRY'S LABOR FORCE EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES/BUSINESS TIMES in English 13 Jun 82 pp 1-3

[Article by Andrew McNulty]

[Text]

**DANGEROUSLY** accelerated labour strife, surging unemployment, a further fuelling of already rampant inflation and even social unrest can be expected within a year unless key dilemmas in South Africa's manpower sector are defused.

This harsh threat facing the country is worsened by the growing economic downturn.

Labour and industrial-relations leaders questioned by Business Times this week say that an economic recession could ignite the already fragile labour fuse.

They warn that the situation demands exceptional wisdom and goodwill from employers and from trade unionists.

More wage increases at the levels of the past two years will exert further strain on the sagging economy — but failure by workers to accept this could have other serious consequences.

Major, far-reaching developments in the workforce are moving rapidly to a head. They include:

- Rising expectations of continued wage increases near or above the inflation rate among large numbers of newly unionised workers.

A trend has already been set in the huge iron and steel industry, where increases ranging from 15% for whites to 26% for blacks have been granted.

- Faced with rising costs, slowing growth and diminishing profits, employers are showing growing resistance

to granting many of the wage increases demanded ever more stridently in the black sector.

- Retrenchment of workers as companies dig in against the downturn has already led to a rapid acceleration in the number of strikes and work stoppages.

- Problems are compounded by rivalry between unions and by a growing polarisation between white and black union members.

- Events took a dramatic new turn recently with the establishment and growth of the Black Mineworkers

Union (BMWU), the first big step towards unionisation of the 450 000 black workers in the country's largest and most vital industry.

This union is the first black mining union to be granted some degree of recognition by the mining industry.

Jack Liebenberg, labour relations adviser to the South African Chamber of Mines, confirms that two months ago the BMWU was advised that it could have access to Chamber collieries and gold mines for recruitment of members.

The healthy (or otherwise) future growth of this union and responses by employers and other mining unions could be critical for the whole labour movement.

These developments are a climax to a massive unionisation — which is still in the melting-pot — of the country's black workers that has occurred since a new labour dispensation was introduced by the first Wiehahn report three years ago.

Registered black trade-union membership rose from nil in July 1979 to 246 551 by the end of last year.

During 1981, the number of registered black unions more than doubled from 14 to 36, while their membership jumped by 359%.

Total membership of registered unions rose by the end of last year to 1 054 405, of whom 488 029 were whites, 326 794 coloureds and Indians and 239 582 blacks.

There are also around 100 000 — possibly more — black members of unregistered trade unions.

However, Henk Botha, director of the Institute for Industrial Relations, notes that many of the unregistered unions have shown a "heartening" inclination to seek registration.

Of 21 unregistered unions, seven have applied for registration.

Showing what is seen by some labour commentators as a disturbing polarisation between white and black union members, membership of black-only unions rose last year by 500% — from 27 000 in 1980 to 162 000.

"Polarisation and multiplicity of trade unions certainly makes negotiation more difficult. But it has to be left to union members themselves to decide how to organise themselves. They can't be forced to amalgamate or go multiracial," Mr Botha says.

From negligible levels in 1979, strikes and work stoppages, with wage-related issues the leading cause, leapt to new peaks last year.

According to Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower, last year there were 283 strikes and 59 work stoppages, resulting in 1 812 434 man hours lost.

While there are not yet full statistics for 1982, Henk Botha comments that the trend appears to be continuing.

Of 19 strikes and other work stoppages reported in the Press in April this year, 12 were caused by wage-related issues and two by retrenchments.

"There is a lack of understanding of economic realities among black union membership and a worrying lack of sophistication among union leadership, many of whom have had little or no formal training in industrial relations.

"Efforts to encourage and provide this training, and patience and care in communication, are more important than ever," he says.



PAPER CRITICIZES PROPOSED CHANGES IN PASS LAWS

MB251112 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 25 Jun 82 p 10

[Editorial: "Koornhof Was Right"]

[Text] It is three years since Dr Piet Koornhof declared war on the dompas [identity document] but, as reports in this newspaper over the past two weeks have shown, the government's latest attempt to reform the pass laws will mean an even harsher implementation of influx control.

The legislation--which bears the Orwellian title of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill--has been referred to an all-party select committee before its second reading in Parliament. This is just as well because the fundamental philosophy behind the bill is wrong: it prepares a relatively small elite of "urban" blacks for co-option while banishing the majority of black South Africans to rural wastes, there to be robbed of their birthright.

It is true that the bill gives the first legal recognition to the permanency of certain blacks in the cities. But this ideological step forward is hopelessly outweighed by the negative aspects which are proposed. The bill provides for a tenfold increase in the fines for employers--from R500 to R5,000; it grants extraordinary powers to the minister to unilaterally remove rights granted to blacks in terms of the bill and to summarily remove whole settlements of black squatters under certain conditions. The controversial black curfew provision is repealed in one section of the bill and then effectively re-introduced in a disguised form elsewhere in the legislation.

The 72-hour grace period for blacks entering the cities is scrapped and replaced with a harsher provision decreeing that, unless authorised, they may not be in an urban area between 10 pm and 5 am. This had led experts to predict massive night raids to implement the provision.

The bill, like the department from which it emanates, has changed names several times; originally it made its appearance in the "new deal" package announced by Dr Koornhof with a fanfare in October 1980. The retrogressive character of the package was exposed by newspapers and by academic and legal experts all over the country and this led to the referral of a series of bills for re-drafting to the expert Grosskopf committee.

The organs of the nationalist government found some of the proposals so indigestible--for instance, freehold property rights for blacks--that it was a full year before the bills began re-emerging in public. While there are indications that one of them--the black local authority bill, which has won the blessing of the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] and the Urban Foundation--could provide the basis for a new deal in black local government, the same cannot remotely be said for the influx bill.

This places a heavy responsibility on the parliamentary select committee which is to deal with it. The PFP's role in transforming the local government legislation has raised expectations of what could be possible. But ultimately there is only one way to reform the pass laws and that is to scrap them. As Dr Koornhof so eloquently told the National Press Club in Washington three years ago: "That thing (the dompas) must be ousted completely and totally from my country."

He was right. And until it is done there can be no talk of real reform.

CSO: 4700/1460

POSSIBILITY THAT COUNTRY MAY BE MATURING POLITICALLY VIEWED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 13 Jun 82 p 35

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "Is This Land of Ours Growing Up at Last?"]

[Text]

**AS SOUTH AFRICA'S** legislators exhaustedly ground out the last of their parliamentary programme this week, they played out the closing scenes of a half-year that will be seminal to a distinctly different political landscape of the future.

In a large sense much remains ill-defined. Standing on the threshold of an altered tomorrow, nervous, ill-at-ease, excited, the politicians were aware not so much of what the future holds, only that it would be inescapably changed.

A major factor in their uncertainty is a realisation, growing for some years, but accelerating dramatically now, that the dominion they have held over national events is fast losing its exclusivity.

Not only is a sure element of the future some sort of shared dispensation with politicians who are not white, but also an acceptance that forces other than formal politics will play an increasing role.

Indeed, in their stock-taking of this year's first six months, they cannot fail to recognise that a large proportion of the impulses that will imprint themselves on tomorrow came from outside Parliament.

Some happened in and around Parliament, but relatively little in terms of "seminal politics" was directly of Parliament itself.

In fact, this session's legislative record tips the balance far more in favour of hardline old-style authoritarianism than progressive change.

Dubbed the "repression session" by one headline writer, it has seen the country's awesome security laws herded into a compendium Internal Security Act that Opposition spokesmen said embodied all the old horrors.

A massive military mobilisation is also catered for in the amendments to the Defence Act which will directly affect every white South African family with its provision for a "dad's army" of soldiers up to 55 years old.

One highlight, in terms of reform, is the law that will translate the Government's belated recognition of the permanence of urban blacks into reality and enable the establishment of fully-fledged black local authorities.

## New growth

For the rest, politics has been overshadowed by events like the National Party split, the President's Council down the road, and surrealistic meetings with African leaders under spreading

maroela trees in remote corners of the country.

A letter-writer in one of the Afrikaans newspapers this week noted that as South Africa celebrated the 21st birthday of its republic, it was at last showing signs of real maturity.

He was right.

If national television remains a somewhat prim guardian of national morals, consenting adults were able to catch the occasional glimpse of breast and thigh outside the privacy of their own bedrooms.

Its politics, too, were sprouting signs of new growth.

But, the pains of adulthood in modern society spawn new problems. And new solutions.

Tireless examiners of modern neuroses, mainly American, become best-selling authors of books like Gail Sheehy's "Passages", which maps out predictable crises of adult life.

In her terms, South Africa's political advance to maturity is behaving just about on schedule.

At this age, the fledgling rebellion against old values like apartheid might be a little tardy — 18 would have been about right — but by no means certifiably retarded yet.

In trying to slough its adolescent garb for something more grown up, it is selecting some macabre combinations, but cogniscenti would prescribe some indulgence and say it is just a phase — like punk rock.

The process is what counts. And that is what Prime Minister P W Botha will be trying to persuade South Africans to buy in the months ahead.

It will be a difficult sale, because he has to pitch one commodity at two distinctly different audiences at the same time.

He has to convince his own followers in the National Party that the process does not threaten their position, while he has to convince coloured and Asian people that the process holds for them promise of a better future.

The two concepts are so estranged as to sometimes seem almost mutually exclusive.

But, Mr Botha's sales skill has been decidedly polished.

When he came into power, his reformist rhetoric led to exciting times, but proved costly to his own support and achieved little but aroused suspicion on the right and frustrated expectation on the left.

## Willingness

Since then, he disappeared into a period of what appears to have been consolidation and reassessment.

That, and the trauma of the break in his party, seems to have forged new resources, which recently have begun to emerge.

His last few public performances have shown a new confidence, a willing-

ness to engage his audiences, a patience with interjectors and, although the arrogance of old still bursts out from time to time, a curb on his fabled temper.

While his speeches continue to be pathologically shy on detail, the style of statecraft and delivery has changed from the take-it-or-leave-it manner of his debut years to a more modulated, persuasive tone.

He now pays all due deference to the protocol of the party congresses he once tried to bully.

This, too, is part of South Africa's seminal politics.

Faced now with a rightwing party of 12 MPs under Dr Andries Treurnicht, it is clearly a time for nurturing, not squandering, what you have.

And for seeking new alliances. Thus, while Mr Botha has been savage in his attacks on the Conservative Party, shaking an infuriated finger across the Assembly floor at the rebels who dared break faith, his sorties against the New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party have been less venomous.

After his Parow public meeting on Monday, where he made unkind references to the NRP ("the wobbling remnants of the old Natal Stand and the United Party"), he returned to Parliament, soothed their hurt and said he was only teasing.

And, in his parting shots at the PFP, he was singularly unconvincing and used an argument not only spurious, but one that leaves him wide open for counter attack.

## Warning

He berated the official Opposition for their relationship with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, which, he complained, advocated one man one vote in a unitary state.

Yet, it is common knowledge that the Government itself is locked into serious negotiation with the Labour Party, energetically seeking its participation in the new white, coloured, Asian dispensation.

The Labour Party's formal policy is, of course, one man one vote in a unitary state.

But, if national politics does show signs of maturing, there is also a fear that it may become lodged in the punk rock stage of bizarre experimentation, without passing through that delinquent phase into something more becoming.

This is what Opposition leader Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert warned about when he urged Mr Botha not to attempt half-baked reform.

That would both fail to redeem him in the eyes of the right-wing and to attract into the new dispensation the people it was aimed at.

"If we are going to enter a process of constitutional reform, let us do it in a way that makes it clear that it has a possibility of creating peace for all population groups and of mobilising the loyalty of all people," he said.

Unless the process of reform now is going to have enough momentum to carry it from the infancy of whites-only politics, through the adolescence of whites-coloureds-and-Asians politics, to the maturity of a politics for all South Africans, it would not succeed.

It was a warning that found grim echoes outside of Parliament.

In the lead-up to the 1982 commemoration of the June 16 explosion of unrest in Soweto six years ago, a number of bombs went off across the country. In Cape Town a young man was killed in one of the blasts.

The Commissioner of

Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said he was convinced it was the work of the banned African National Congress.

Violence is not new to South Africa, but just as the first six months of this year have seen the beginnings of a yet unclear but irretrievably different South Africa for some of its inhabitants, the current midyear wave of bombings may also be a signal.

CSO: 4700/1488

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BRIEFS

PFP CRITICIZES NEWS RESTRICTIONS--The South African official opposition party has slammed alleged police suppression of information on six people detained yesterday. The critique came from PFP spokesman Dave Dalling. Carmen Ricard reports: [Ricard] A warning from Gen Johan Coetzee, chief of the security police, was given to all newspapers last night not to publish anything about the detention in terms of the police act. Police refused to confirm the detention or the act under which they were made. Acting on legal advice, the NATAL MERCURY has decided not to release names. But the paper quotes Dave Dalling as saying that this situation brings into stark focus what he calls the horrendous power of the government which could make people disappear without trace and without any public inquiry being allowed. Carmen Ricard in Durban for Capital News. [Text] [MB250818 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 25 Jun 82]

CHURCH GROUP STAND--The National Conference of the South African Council of Churches has taken a major policy decision precluding dialog with Afrikaans churches unless these denounce apartheid as a sin and heresy. The resolution does not single out the churches by name, but it says it cannot hold any useful dialog with those who continue to uphold the system and seek to justify it on moral and theological grounds. [Text] [MB250816 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0730 GMT 25 Jun 82]

CSO: 4700/1460

PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION

MB251014 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 25 Jun 82 p 20

[Article by Charity Tshabalala]

[Excerpts] The rapid population growth in Swaziland is placing enormous strains on the limited resources.

As a result, the country's ability to satisfy all the educational aspirations of the nation is affected.

This was stated by the prime minister, Prince Mabandla, during the official opening of Mphundle secondary school in Siteki area.

Despite the substantial increase in the number of new schools in the country, he said, most schools are still overcrowded and understaffed because of the sharp increase in the number of students, which has occurred over the past few years.

"Every Swazi who has the interest of this country at heart, should be concerned about the current 74 percent failure rate at our high schools," he expressed concern.

Due to rising costs building schools and providing other social services will be virtually impossible in scattered rural homesteads. Rural communities will have to build their homesteads closer together in order to share these scarce facilities.

When Swaziland had independence there was a student population of over 68,000 in schools. The number has increased to 145,000 students.

The numbers are almost certain to rise and in the next 18 years Swaziland is expected to have more than 275,000 students.

CSO: 4700/1460



RESUMPTION OF ZAIRIAN-ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS EXPLAINED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 May 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Definitely, the renewal of diplomatic relations between Zaire and Israel is causing a great upset in certain Islamic regions of the world.

Following the resentment voiced in the number of Middle Eastern capitals and the disapproving statements of a certain number of black African leaders, we are witnessing today the artillery fire from the Arab League and its "Front of Firmness."

In fact, none of this can surprise us: we knew for a certainty well in advance that if we adopted the position we did, certain Arab countries would not agree with us. Also, we are in no way seeking to pursue any polemic whatsoever with them or anyone else. The fact still remains that it would be well to clarify some obscure points, in view of the restive agitation in certain countries and certain Arab organizations, whose statements have reached the limits of the reasonable and gone well beyond those of decency.

In fact, sources close to the secretariat general of the OAU have informed Zaire in bewilderment that Mr Chadli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, urged the secretary general of the OAU to adopt a position on the decision of Zaire to reestablish diplomatic relations with the state of Israel. Mr Eden Kodjo has been urged to do nothing less than "reject the decision by Zaire."

Like a Dream...

The OAU, the pan-African body for cooperation among the sovereign states which are its members, would thus have the "supranational" power to enable it to constrain nations on the specific point of their national sovereignty--by definition, inalienable--and the power to impose a given policy on them...

In addition, the Arab League, a pan-Arab organization of which a certain number of Arab nations are members, would have the power to dictate its policy to the OAU, an African organization with a charter in which the sovereignty of the states is forcefully set forth as the basic principle, the defense of which justifies the very existence of the organization.

## Mr Chadli Should Be Reminded

The exercise of its sovereignty by a member nation in the OAU is not the business of that organization, but rather that of the nation itself. The recognition of a nation or the establishment of diplomatic relations between one nation and another is an individual act of sovereignty and not the collective exercise of a right which the charter of the OAU itself has never set forth anywhere.

Nor, moreover, has the OAU ever approved any resolution or injunction urging member nations not to reestablish relations with Israel.

Under such conditions, to speak of "the business of Africa, the Arab-African nations and the whole of the Third World," as the secretary general of the Arab League is doing, means mixing and confusing the law and the state of mind of the spokesmen of that organization rather naively.

Moreover, it is perhaps we in this whole affair who are the most naive, in thinking that it was a question of sovereignty, liberty and independence.

We should have long since understood that with this kind of "partners," there is neither liberty nor independence possible without total adherence to the distorted logic which converts a fanatic maneuver into a principle of law.

Zaire will nonetheless continue to defend its positions on the basis of law and solely on that basis. This leads it to regard the Arab noise and furor for what they are: intimidation and blackmail designed to influence the leaders of black Africa and to persuade them not to follow the example of Zaire. Arab-African solidarity, exploding in malevolent intentions, menacing statements and open threats against Zaire because it fully exercised an inalienable right seems to me of a very special nature and close to subjection.

We will not allow ourselves to be impressed: recalls of diplomats, the closing of embassies, suspended diplomatic relations and injunctions to the BADEA [Arab Bank for African Economic Development] will have no effect on the policy of Zaire. Our position is clear and irreversible, because it is based on principles and conduct which are equally clear and irreversible.

It is thus not toward Zaire that the verbal violence and threats of the Arab hawks are directed, but rather toward the black African leaders and nations which might be tempted to exercise their right of sovereignty in turn.

In this affair, the harrowing confusion of law and states of mind is not limited solely to the specific point of our sovereign decision to reestablish relations with Tel Aviv. An effort has also been to ascribe to us intentions which would link our policy with Israel's claims to the Jerusalem territory. The mass media have gone as far as to insinuate in this connection that the explanations undertaken by the diplomatic missions of Zaire in the main European capitals and in the United States constitute "backpedaling" by Zaire.

## Backpedaling From What?

The statement made public on Friday, 14 May 1982 by the bureau of the Central Committee of the MPR, which had met with the chief of state himself presiding, makes mention nowhere of the establishment of an embassy of Zaire in Jerusalem, nor even simply of the name of the city dear to the adherents of the three great historic religions in the world.

Why then all of this commotion and agitation? Once again, it is much ado about nothing in connection with a false problem created out of whole cloth by ill-intentioned circles which regard every means as legitimate for stirring up the incomprehensible and acute hostility certain Arab nations nurture against the sovereign position of Zaire and against its head.

Whatever the case, the basic thing is that the Israelis themselves know that the embassy of Zaire will be established in Tel Aviv. All the rest is nothing but useless provocation and vulgar falsification.

There remains the amazing statement published in Tripoli by the Arab ministers of the "Front of Firmness," urging the people of Zaire to rebel and oust their president.

Zaire reacted to the publication of this statement with indignation and scorn, indignation and scorn which are the greater since two African countries, although Arab, are among the "signatories" of this hateful communique which is entirely in violation of the letter and the spirit of the OAU charter, which both Algeria and Libya have ratified.

What motivation played the greatest role in the attitude of Algeria and Libya? We note with regret but without illusion that Arabism overrode Africanism.

But Algeria and Libya should not nurture any illusions either. Since 24 November 1964, the only slogans to mobilize the people of Zaire have been those emanating from the only source capable of galvanizing and giving meaning to a national liberation undertaking: its leader and guide, Gen Mobutu Sese Seko, the author of its independence and the guarantor of its sovereignty.

And moreover, since Gen Mobutu Sese Seko cannot ask his people to oust him, the exhortations of the countries of the so-called "Front of Firmness" will go for naught.

## Two Simple Observations

The first observation is that the Arabs who are scornful of Zaire chose the wrong tactic in contriving to distract Africans by childish statements in which everything is intermingled in a total confusion of principles, facts, statements and commitments, which neither bad faith, blind fanaticism nor the atavistic hatred of the blacks of yesterday's slave traders can help to clarify.

The second observation is similar to the first and is linked with it. It is that for 15 years, with a view to consolidating the relations between our country and certain Arab nations which have had a tainted history where black Africa is concerned, President Mobutu Sese Seko deliberately undertook to eliminate a certain number of chapters in the history books used in the schools in Zaire. These chapters had to do with the black slave trade.

Well now! Matters will be different in the future: since the same forces which yesterday denied human rights to the black man want today, now that he has been liberated from the colonialism provoked and justified by their undertaking, to deny him again the freedom so dearly won, it will be necessary to restore to history what belongs to it, and to the truth the whole horror of the slave trade and all the cruelty of the bearded and turbaned hordes of yesterday.

The children of Zaire who did not know of it will learn henceforth from their revised and corrected texts that Zanzibar was a great slave market, and the caravan route passed through Bunkeya, in Shaba, through Kindu and Maniema.

Zaire understands the scope of the discomfort of certain moderate Arab countries since the decision adopted to reestablish relations with Israel. It reiterates, however, that this decision is neither a question of pleasing Peter or displeasing Paul, or in fact involving either one of them. It is a question of acting on one's own analysis, based on one's independence and interests.

This can never be stressed too much in this affair.

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CSO: 4719/1071

LINK BETWEEN ZAIRE, ISRAEL DESCRIBED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 25 May 82 99 1, 8

[Editorial: "Between Kinshasa and Tel Aviv"]

[Text] Everything is henceforth nicely settled between Zaire and Israel, now in the stage of exchanging diplomatic missions after 9 years during which relations were suspended, and following the talks which were held recently in Kinshasa and Tel Aviv by high officials of the two countries.

In particular in the capital of Zaire, the reopening of the Israeli diplomatic mission last Friday was the occasion for a truly moving ceremony. It constitutes a happy augury of the warm and open relations which the leaders of Zaire and Israel have decided to reestablish for the greater good of their respective peoples and peace in the world.

Thus despite the extravagant reaction of the Arab world and its African lackeys, who in a delirious moment condemned the decision of Zaire to renew relations with Israel, revealing that they have forgotten that Zaire is a country owing allegiance to no one and profoundly devoted to the principles of law, justice and the freedom of peoples to choose their own fate, and also that our country has always refused to be taught lessons by anyone whatsoever, Kinshasa and Tel Aviv are determined to reestablish profitable and exemplary relations between themselves.

The fact that the reestablishment of these relations was the cause of extreme agitation in the Arab world and in certain African countries which have become the servile tools of Arab imperialism is, in the eyes of observers, of great importance to the future relations between Zaire and Israel. And it is in this connection that the observers are making assessments of the possibilities for the exchange which should exist between the two countries.

Pending a more propitious occasion which will allow us to assess all of the possibilities for trade and other types of exchange between Zaire and Israel, we can say that the warm and confident talks which have been underway for a dozen or so days between the two parties have revealed complete identity of views, particularly where the means of dynamizing cooperation between Zaire and Israel are concerned. The Israeli officials have confirmed the desire of their country to contribute effectively to the economic and social recovery

of Zaire. The authorities in Zaire, for their part, have also promised to place the prestige and the tremendous potential of their country in the service of the new cooperation between the two nations.

Thus, it is clearly evident that the relations between Kinshasa and Tel Aviv are likely to establish an exemplary model, as the two parties desire, on the economic as well as trade, cultural, technical and political levels.

Also, praise is merited by the constructive spirit animating the two countries which will have to support each other mutually and act in concert with a view to the strengthening of peace and the establishment of an era of justice in the world.

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CSO: 4719/1073

ZAIRIAN POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL FURTHER EXPLAINED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 25 May 82 pp 1, 7

[Article by Nzanda-Buana Kalemba, secretary general of the Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution: "There Is No Uncertainty"]

[Text] "Neither to the left, nor to the right." This is the formula making it possible to understand the secret of the foreign policy of Zaire.

In fact, in the light of the principles set forth in the N'Sele Manifesto, our national party catechism, this golden rule means that Zairian international cooperation relies on the principle, dear to our people, of giving its sovereignty priority, at all costs, in its relations with all the countries in the world, regardless of their political and economic systems.

What does this mean, if not that our country is prepared to cooperate with any country in the world which has understood the meaning of the authenticity of Zaire, which demands mutual respect and nonintervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation?

Strong in this political experience, our country, Zaire, today occupies its proper place in the concert of nations, and whenever it has had the opportunity to debate a difference of opinions in the world, it has set forth equitable solutions inspired by our philosophy of recourse to authenticity, and animated by the search for peace and concord among the nations.

So it is that on many occasions, the international community has valued the just positions adopted, one by one, by Zaire, concerning the two Germanys, the two Vietnams, the two Koreas and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Zaire, faithful to its policy of openness to the world and always seeking international peace, also met with unanimous world approval when, on 4 October 1973, it broke off diplomatic relations with the Jewish state.

Linked with the principle of causality, this sovereign decision, which was dictated by Israel's occupation of Egypt's African territory, thus flouting the dignity of the entire African people, becomes an anachronism now that this African territory, because of which Zaire made the break, has been restored.



There can be no misunderstanding about the fact that Zaire, respectful of its commitments, has decided in all logic to renew relations with the Jewish state, for there no longer exists any reason to explain the suspension of diplomatic relations with Israel.

The dog barks, the caravan moves on. The outcry which arose throughout the Arab world following the adoption of this sovereign position is of no concern to the people of Zaire, much less its youth.

The Arab people must know that even if Zaire supports Arab-African solidarity, it nonetheless remains an independent and sovereign nation, free to establish the options of its foreign policy for itself.

Zaire has no fear at all of the foreign agitation orchestrated by all these charlatans. On the contrary, this enables it to measure the offer of friendship made it by the Arab League more accurately.

The young people of Zaire believe that the African-Arab people remain a brother people, the Asiatic Arab people are a friendly people, and for Zaire, the PLO remains an organization for the liberation of the Palestinian people, deprived of their legitimate rights, an organization struggling so that this people can win back their fatherland.

The Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, the vanguard of the authentic revolution in Zaire, see the just value of the diplomacy being pursued by our country and stand behind its beloved guide, enthusiastically supporting the reaction of Zaire and its people to the masquerade of some Arab countries.

It would be truly an error for the Zairian state to ignore the right of the Palestinian people to have a fatherland, and it would be equally erroneous for Zaire to turn its back definitively on the Jewish state at a time when it has restored the African territories it was occupying.

Whom can they deceive? In any case, not the sons and daughters of the great nation of Zaire, who under the tutelage of their farseeing guide, Mobutu Sese Seko, have learned since the redeeming dawn of 24 November 1965, to live intelligently with all the countries of the world concerned with peace and freedom.

Why is the Arab League unable to understand these well-known relations with other countries in the world which have contributed in one way or another to the settlement of the Israeli-Egyptian conflict?

The people of Zaire cannot be taken in, nor can its youth.

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CSO: 4719/1073

SUPPORT OF ISRAEL'S CAUSE JUSTIFIED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29 May 82 pp 1, 6

[Editorial: "All of Us Behind the Guide"]

[Text] The members of the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) from all parts of the republic will have an unusual afternoon today, for at 1 pm local time, they are invited, through the support marches organized under the sponsorship of the executive committee of the party, to demonstrate once again their tireless devotion to the builder of the nation. And for what reason? No one is unaware that on 14 May, our country, through the Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPR, decided to reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel, relations broken off in 1973 as a result of the occupation of the African territory of Egypt. This decision, taken in full freedom, has, as is known, led to reactions from the Arab world bordering on hostility.

Let us recall that 9 years ago, the suspension of diplomatic relations between Zaire and the Hebrew nation, courageously announced from the U. N. rostrum by Gen Mobutu Sese Seko, won us the admiration of the great-grandsons of the Arab slave-mongers. Were there any flattering epithets which were not used to describe the just nature of the behavior of this great military leader and this eminent leader of men who had always been guided by good sense? What Arab and African emissaries did not cross the threshold of Mont Ngaliema to prostrate themselves before the man of 24 November who was the first to condemn, before the world and without the slightest equivocation, the expansionist intentions of the state illegally occupying the Sinai? Was there any praise which was not heaped upon the head of a country which stands out because of the price it attaches to its freedom and its independence?

But since 25 April 1982, the Sinai, the occupation of which by Israel was the reason for our decision to break with the Zionist state, has been, in accordance with the Camp David agreements, returned to our Egyptian brothers. It goes without saying that in view of the change which has occurred in the relations between Egypt and Israel, Zaire had lost the moral right to adhere to an anachronism which was no longer justified. Thus the normalization of its relations with Israel was nothing more than the logical consequence of the situation created by the two countries involved.

However, as was to be expected, this clear-sighted and judicious policy did not suit the desires of the Arab imperialists who naively believed they had some right of inspection over a country which has become, since the accession of General Mobutu to the highest leadership post, truly sovereign and independent, having no need to account to anyone whatsoever.

The people of Zaire, who will always place their confidence in their leader thanks to whom they recovered all the attributes of freedom, will profit from this afternoon's activities to make it known to our master blackmailers once and for all that they will never yield to pressure, much less to blackmail, whatever its source may be. Let all these tyrants who are exploiting their peoples in shameful fashion and whose petrodollars serve only to maintain terrorism throughout the world know that we reserve for them a fate identical to that to which all those who stubbornly attempted to prevent us from winning our economic independence have had to resign themselves. For come what may, we will cheerfully pursue our path toward development.

The 25 million members of the MPR, as one man following the guide of the true Zairian revolution and galvanized by the ideals of the party, are ready to fight to the last drop of their blood to maintain the sovereignty and independence of their dear and beautiful country, two gains of the Second Republic.

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CSO: 4719/1068

APPEAL FOR MARCHES IN SUPPORT OF MOBUTU ISSUED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29 May 82 pp 1, 7

[Article by Kongo Luzayamo Nzundu: "Marches in Support of the President of the Republic"]

[Text] Since 14 May, the date on which diplomatic relations with the state of Israel were resumed, the Arab world has had it in for Zaire. Slandorous efforts in the press have been directed at the president and founder of the MPR, although Zaire, as an independent country, is free to pursue its policy as it sees fit. The proof of this is seen in the fact that the decision adopted by the Bureau of the Central Committee to reestablish relations with the Hebrew state has won a ceaseless stream of congratulations from both political and business circles.

In view of the subversive pursuits orchestrated by the Arab world, the executive committee of the MPR has decided to organize marches to demonstrate support of the chief of state beginning at 1 pm this Saturday.

Once again, rallying around their regional party presidents and regional governors, the militants will prove to the enemies of Zaire that their marriage to Mobutu is indissoluble. As is the custom in Kinshasa, the militants who will rally at the 20 May stadium will come from four former sub-regions. At the conclusion of the march, the regional president of the MPR and city governor, Mr Sakombi Ekope, will speak to the people to explain the situation currently prevailing in the country to them and to appeal for vigilance.

Because of this grandiose demonstration, the "salongo" scheduled for this Saturday will not be held. The zone commissioner as well as the section presidents of the MPR, private, state and parastate enterprises, will be asked to devote Saturday morning to the mobilization.

The political leadership of the party youth, for its part, meeting in special session last Thursday with Mr Nzanda-Buana Kalemba, secretary general of the JMPR [Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution], urged all young people in Zaire to participate massively in the march this Saturday.

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CSO: 4719/1068

POPULAR MARCH SUPPORTS RESTORED TIES WITH ISRAEL

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 30-31 May 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kongo Luzayamo Nzundu: "The Zairian People Confirmed Their Loyalty to the Chief of State"]

[Text] In Kinshasa, as in all the capitals of the regions, subregions and interior zones, thousands of citizens of Zaire went into the streets to demonstrate their loyalty to the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, Gen Mobutu Sese Seko.

This occurred on the occasion of the support marches organized at the instigation of the executive committee of the party.

In Kinshasa

"Down with the Arab racists!" "The Arab League, a firm front deceiving whom?" "We want to be ourselves and not what others want us to be!" "The dog may bark, but the Zairian caravan continues on its path toward progress!" "We are for the PLO and we challenge the imperialist Arabs!" "Arabism means fanaticism, racism and imperialism!" "The OAU will always remain strong and united!" "Mobutu, our only Guide!" These were some of the slogans one could see on the streamers carried by the men and women militants of Kinshasa during the support march organized throughout the country last Saturday by the executive committee of the MPR.

In response to the party appeal, the main streets of the capital were dense with crowds beginning at 1 pm. Led from the four corners of Kinshasa by citizens Sakombi Ekope, Nzita-Puatidi Mavambu, Kpama Baramoto and Botuli, governor, vice governors and urban director, respectively, the militant citizens marched gaily to prove to all the world that their marriage to Mobutu remains indissoluble.

Meanwhile, the 20 May stadium, which served as a rallying point, was enlivened by the ballets "Kake" and "Lipopo," and the music of the OK Jazz, Mpongo Love and Vonga Aye orchestras. These musical groups had the ingenious idea of performing songs of which the themes were the lack of slavery in Zaire, the good-neighbor policy and defense of the gains of the revolution.

Following the march, the regional president of the MPR and governor of the city of Kinshasa, Mr Sakombi Ekope, delivered an address in which he praised the population of the capital for its constant readiness to respond to any party appeal. Explaining the meaning of the day's demonstration, the head of the city administration stressed that Zaire can in no case tolerate the slanderous intentions pursued by certain Arab countries with regard to its leader since the announcement by the bureau of the Central Committee of the MPR that diplomatic relations are being resumed with the state of Israel.

After discussing the motivations underlying the conflict existing today between Zaire and the Arab world, Sakombi Ekope recalled that, within the framework of his open-approach policy, Zaire has no problems with the Arabs. Those Arabs who live in Kinshasa can go about their usual concerns provided that they do not interfere in our affairs. In this connection, the people of the city were urged to maintain the highest level of vigilance.

The governor of the city wanted to deal, before ending his address, with the problem concerning the prevailing insecurity in the capital. In this connection, he congratulated the population of Kinshasa on its solidarity and urged the people to take evildoers seized to the proper departments so that more profound investigations can be pursued. In the position that it adopted on the reactions of the Arab countries to the resumption of diplomatic relations between Zaire and Israel, the Kinshasa regional committee of the MPR, in a motion which Vice Governor Nzita read aloud, energetically denounced and condemned the violation of our sovereignty. It expressed approval and total support of the president of the republic for the justified renewal of diplomatic relations with Israel, a renewal the committee regards moreover as a substantial contribution to the efforts to bring peace to the Middle East. In addition, it asserted forcefully that the militants in Kinshasa continue to rally around their guide, Mobutu, in the defense of independence, national unity and territorial integrity. In its conclusion, the message confirmed the unceasing devotion of the men and women of Kinshasa to the president and founder and the ideals of the revolution, and congratulated the chief of state on his policy of openness and the realism and firmness with which he guides our diplomacy.

In Shaba

The men and women members in the Shaba region expressed their support of the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, through magnificent marches organized in the various political-administrative districts of this part of the national territory.

In Lubumbashi, these marches were organized on the basis of the seven zones of the city, and were led by various personalities including citizens Mbalanga Hahe and Mombongolia, vice governor of Shaba, and citizen Mulonga Misha Kabange, second vice president of the bureau of the Central Committee of the MPR and political commissioner.

Following the march organized in the urban zone of Katuba, in which Vice Governor Mbalanga took part, the militants in this municipality sent the following motion of support to the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko:

"We, the men and women militants in the urban zone of Katuba in the city of Lubumbashi, rallied within the MPR, are, on completion of the march organized along all of the main arteries in our zone, sending this motion of support to you, assuring you of our unconditional support of your decision, after ripe consideration, to reestablish diplomatic relations with the Jewish state.

"We confirm to you that we most energetically reject all the imperialist ideas of certain Arab countries which claim to represent a 'front of firmness.'

"We thank you for all you have done and will continue to do for our dear country, without moreover forgetting your main historic achievements, which are peace, calm, the unification of the people of Zaire, freedom of expression and the organization of our armed and territorial forces.

"We implore all the gods of our ancestors to allow you long life and to aid you in your burdensome tasks,

"Once again we reiterate our unending devotion to the ideals of the party and its president and founder.

"Long live the president and founder, long live the MPR."

Similar popular demonstrations developed in the various cities and subregions of Shaba, in which the party militants carried out popular marches in support of Guide Mobutu along the main thoroughfares in their districts.

In Kipushi, the capital of the subregion of Haut-Shaba, citizen Buloko Wa Tshimpumpu, subregional commissioner, personally led the march. He was aided by his colleagues as well as their wives, who joined with the women merchants to express their unending devotion to the father of the nation.

In Likasi and Kolwezi, the two main mining towns in the region, the local population marched the route of 7 kilometers marked out by the urban authorities through the Kikula, Panda, Shituru and Likasi districts, as well as the Manika and Dilala zones.

Motions expressing support of the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, were sent to him by the people of these districts, issuing a challenge to the Arab countries which claimed to constitute a "front of firmness."

In Matadi

All of the popular forces in the town of Matadi, led by citizen Malumba Mbangula, regional president of the MPR and governor of Bas-Zaire, participated Saturday in the great march in support of the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, organized along the main thoroughfares of the port city.

Following the march, citizen Malumba told the militants gathered at Damar Square that Zaire's decision to renew relations with the Hebrew state is "logical, normal and sovereign."



Where the Arab reactions against this decision by Zaire were concerned, he said: "The dog barks, but the caravan moves on." The governor of the region also urged the citizens under his jurisdiction to maintain increased vigilance and to continue to trust in Guide Mobutu Sese Seko, to whom he paid deferential homage.

Earlier, citizen Bolombo Baembe, regional secretary of the MOPAP, had read the motion of support drafted by the militants of Bas-Zaire for the president and founder of the MPR.

In that document, they confirmed their undying devotion to and support of the father of the Zairian revolution and the ideals of the MPR.

In Bukavu

An important march to demonstrate support for the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, was organized Saturday afternoon in Bukavu for the men and women members of the MPR and the party youth. Following the march, citizen Mwando Nsimba, regional president of the MPR and governor of Kivu, recalled the slave-trading past of our Arab brothers, who want to continue to dominate us by means of petrodollars. In this connection, he recalled the towns of Kasongo and Kindu, which in the past served as great slave markets, before the arrival of the Belgians.

After the speech by the governor of the region, citizen Mulihiri, urban secretary of the MOPAP, read the following motion, addressed to the president and founder: "We the militants of Kivu, represented by the urban population of Bukavu, rallied within the MPR, hail with revolutionary enthusiasm your decision to reestablish diplomatic relations between our country and the state of Israel, the logical consequence of the sovereign decision you adopted on 14 October 1973 and announced before the members of the 28th General Assembly of the United Nations.

"By this decision, you have shown to all the world, in particular the Arab imperialists and their acolytes, that Zaire is a sovereign country which can in no case yield to any kind of menace whatsoever.

"Let the former slave merchants know that they would do best to leave us alone, in order to avoid recalling the painful memories we have been willing to bury with history.

"We take advantage of this occasion to reiterate to you once again our undying devotion to your august personage and our determination to fight beside you to our last breath to safeguard our sovereignty."

In Mbuji-Mayi

Thousands of militants from the city of Mbuji-Mayi, led by Governor Zamundu, undertook a march Saturday in support of the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic, Guide Mobutu Sese Seko, to demonstrate to him their inflexible support of the wise decision he made to renew diplomatic relations with the Hebrew state

Following the march, the Mbuji-Mayi militants, and through them, those of the subregions and rural zones of Kasai Oriental, addressed the following motion to the father of the nation:

"We want to assure you of our firm determination to resist fiercely in opposition to the threats of intimidation proffered by certain Arab countries which, in the midst of the 20th century, still yearn for the days of subjecting other peoples, as they did in the era when they were masters of the slave trade. To defend this national sovereignty and the integrity of our territory, we, the people of Easter Kasai, are ready to wage courageous battle to the last drop of our blood.

"We are aware that at this precise moment, all of the political agitators want to engage in a campaign to disrupt and poison the peaceful population of Zaire by promulgating false rumors and thus sowing doubt in the minds of the people. However, we are more than determined to maintain vigilance on all fronts in order to protect ourselves against the subversive campaigns orchestrated by these political criminals. We reiterate our never-ending devotion to your august personage as well as the ideals of the MPR."

5157

CSO: 4719/1066

GREATER COOPERATION WITH FRANCE IN COMMUNICATIONS SECTOR PLANNED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 May 82 p 7

[Text] The meeting of the joint high commission has always provided an opportunity for the confirmation of the bonds linking the two nations by making the strengthening of their cooperation possible. With regard to cooperation between France and Zaire, in which connection the sessions of the joint high commission once again provided proof of the excellence of the relations between the two nations, it is expected that it will breathe new life into sectors to which our country gives priority: agriculture, transportation, energy, mining, health and education.

In Zaire it has been constantly reiterated that agriculture must be developed in order to make it possible to effect substantial economies in foreign exchange as a result of self-sufficiency in the food sector.

The first priority assigned to agriculture can thus only be justified if the key sector which transportation and communications represent can succeed in providing outlets for the regions which can then fully play their role as the breadbasket for the capital and the other major urban centers.

For a country with subcontinental dimensions such as Zaire, the most favorable means of transportation is without any doubt by air. This is particularly true when speed is needed, for time is money. But having airplanes is not enough. It is necessary to guarantee those who use them safety both on board the aircraft and in the facilities housing the related offices and services. And this need is the more urgent at a time when many private individuals are responding to the appeal made by the president and founder of the MPR and president of the republic for support of Air Zaire in the transportation of passengers and freight.

Thus civil aviation occupies a leading place in the complex of elements contributing to the development of the country. For this reason, it has not been overlooked within the framework of Franco-Zairian cooperation. Quite the contrary! The aid contributed to the Airlines Administration (RVA) by our French partners through the agency of the Sofreavia Service state company is very substantial. Established by the general multiannual cooperation agreement for the civil aviation and meteorological sector dated 6 April 1981, it was designed to ensure aerial safety and the training of Zairian personnel with a

view to replacing the French cooperative workers, and was to function for a minimum of 4 years.

And as a prerequisite to the actual launching of this enterprise, funds were needed. The two parties provided for this when they signed the implementation agreement for the period between 1 July 1981 and 31 December 1982, which called for contributions from the partners. Thus of its share of the first establishment expenditures, including the purchase of rolling stock and technical equipment, as well as the modernization of installations, France has already paid up 75 percent, or about 20 million French francs. Where Zaire is concerned, the RVA was able to pay into this fund, as a gesture of goodwill on the part of the Zairian state, an amount from its subsidy. But this effort is insufficient, because the resources available to it will not allow it to take the place of the board of directors.

The extent of the activities underway should moreover stimulate the political authorities, aware of the contribution this sector of activity is making to the development of the country, to react within a relatively short period. For it is necessary to find the credit needed for the maintenance of the electronic, telecommunications and meteorological apparatus, as well as the fire control vehicles due to arrive in Zaire shortly.

Ipsa facto, any discussion of maintenance involves spare parts. For this reason Sofreavia Service recently dispatched its "order bureau" official, Mr Jaouen, to Zaire, to go over with the management staff of the RVA the orders placed by Zaire on which delivery is expected soon. This mission, undertaken just prior to the meeting of the joint high Franco-Zairian commission, can contribute to the development of a file useful to the experts of our two countries.

The problem of safety in aerial navigation will be entirely resolved through collaboration between France and its Zairian partner, which will have to make its quota contribution. France even plans to extend its collaboration beyond the improvement of safety at the N'Djili International Airport, to include other international airports in the country as well (Lubumbashi, Kisangani and Boma).

5157

CSO: 4719/1071

## TRAINING LEADER INTERVIEWED ON THRUST OF MOBUTU MOVEMENT

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 14 Apr 82 pp 10-11

[Interview with Kangafu-Vingi-Gudumbangana, secretary general for cadre training and director of the Makanda Kobobi Institute, by Mputu-Toko Dingani: "The Paths of the Mobutian Revolution"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In an interesting interview given last week to our newspaper, Citizen Kangafu-Vingi-Gudumbangana, secretary general for cadre training and director of the Makanda Kabobi Institute, reminds us of the date 22 March 1967, "a memorable date that deserves to be duly recognized." It is on that day, in fact, that the founder-president, the president of the republic, announced the imminent creation of a national party. In his answers, Citizen Kangafu puts this date in its historical context and then talks about the "advance" or "long march" of the Popular Movement of the Revolution before giving his vision of the MPR in the year 2000.

[Question] 22 March 1967--an almost insignificant date in the public view. And yet a rereading of the history of our national party shows that 22 March is a memorable date that deserves to be duly recognized. Citizen Secretary General, would you like to define its historical context in terms of time and place?

[Answer] It is an apparently insignificant date or, more precisely, a date of which activists have no recollection. And you understand the importance of commemorative dates in the destiny of a nation! Fine. On 22 March it was exactly 60 days from 20 May, and we are steadily making our way toward the 15th anniversary. Within that progression, the date of 22 March is of capital importance: it is the day on which Guide Mobutu made the ceremonial announcement of the imminent creation of a national party--a major occurrence, therefore. As for its historical context: We were, of course, coming out of a period of an apolitical nature. During that time, only the CVR [expansion unknown] that is, a body of patriots, was providing the political driving force. And it had no status as a political party or political formation. All the political parties were no longer in existence. This was because the new revolutionary government wanted to break away, wanted a total break with

everything that had existed before. This desire for a total break with the past, which involved the determination to innovate for the benefit of the masses of the people, had given rise to much sympathy, genuine alliances and powerful basic popular enthusiasm. Let us not forget that the Guide had been touring the country since 14 March; in his mingling with crowds and his contacts, he had been experiencing genuine political communication--a stir of encouragement and sincere support for the undertaking of 24 November 1965. So that immense popular support--that profound similarity of view demonstrated by all social strata of the people of the Zaire River--had to be crystallized into something organic, capable of channeling and organizing that breath of liberation emanating from the people. So, during a meeting with members of the press at his stop in Mbandaka, the decision that had been taken was made public: a mass movement, a political formation was to be created, very soon, to bring the country out of being apolitical and to strengthen the flame of patriotism that the CVR was fanning.

[Question] After 15 years, the MPR has a history that has now become identified with the existence of the nation. In your view, what is the importance of the 22 March date within the march of our authentic revolution?

[Answer] The importance of 22 March? General Mobutu became aware of the unanimity and the similarity of aspirations surrounding his desire for renewal and for the liberation from historical destiny of the people of that central basin that constitutes Zaire. On that date--on that day--a conviction was formed: Popular enthusiasm and support of the masses for political innovation required a structure to keep it going, an organic foundation. There was unanimous support for an undertaking for national liberation, for the building of a new society rejecting the colonial model as well as the model of the First Republic--fundamental unanimous support for organizing independence, which came on 30 June, as a plan for society, as a unified national liberation. The mass movement that was announced was already a vision of the new city--an organization of the vast aspiration for freedom.

[Question] What about the CVR, Citizen Secretary General? Can you single out the influence of its activity in the Mobutian action announcing the creation of the MPR?

[Answer] The CVR? Well, President Mobutu has always had his hand in it and a presence in it. He has sworn to be committed and faithful already [as published; dropped line]. The high command? He has a hand in that; the CVR shines in public education. It is the only organized and nationalistic politicized structure. In fact, it is itself the voluntary protector of the safety of the independent republic [of Zaire]. At that dawning of "cha-cha independence," though the army proved to be the only well-knit and disciplined force, the CVR emerged in the civilian sector as the only structure for watching over the republic's defense and mass education--the only politicized, organized structure established in the country with the defense of national unity as its objective. Do you remember the startling stands--supported by the CVR--that prayed for an organization like the MPR? That conjunction of two forces--note that the CVR shone with youth, evidencing determined youthful forces--undoubtedly prompted President Mobutu to forge

ahead, particularly to unite and gather together that energy devoted to the glory of the building of a strong, unitary nation.

[Question] How did the population react to that decision, especially since it still had in mind the sufferings borne for 5 years following the fratricidal conflicts bred by the political parties of those days?

[Answer] Yes, the sufferings that had been borne, the mourning, the fratricidal conflicts, the panoply of tribal-ethnic parties...there was scattering, dispersal, the dissolution of reality. Note that in that announcement of President Mobutu's there is no question at all of "party." It is a question of "mass movement."

And the massive, spontaneous and enthusiastic support for this movement measured up to the immediate identification of the population with this political undertaking. The people, who had previously been bewildered, found themselves back with an incarnation, a consciousness, a political plan--in short, an identity by means of which they could define themselves.

[Question] Citizen Secretary General, starting with 22 March 1967, would you like to describe the MPR's course, stressing the high points of its history?

[Answer] The course of the MPR! I prefer the terms "advance" or "long march." The course? That is as if one were at the end of the journey, whereas we are right in the middle of it. I see two kinds of high points already experienced. First, institutional advance. This started out from the apolitical attitudes of 1965-1967, went through the 24 June 1967 constitution's two-party system, which very soon proved not just inadequate but, most of all, without purpose, and matured into the one-party system--the institutionalized MPR (which has become a publicly acknowledged fait accompli within the state)--the MPR, supreme institution of the republic. This form of one-party system was quickly superseded, and the MPR further matured to become the preeminent institution of the republic--the politically organized Zairian nation, as our basic texts say. The MPR is the formal consciousness of the Zairian people--to the extent that the nation is molded in the MPR's objectives, ideals, and principles of action--and the MPR identifies itself with the Zairian nation. Hence, the MPR is the party-government of Zaire.

Then, the advance in the internal organization of the unitary nature of power. In this connection, let us point out the ups and downs of the two-headed system, or dualism, remembered with sadness, and then the movement of liberation, or strengthening of democratization, starting with the general political speech of 1 July 1977, to make institutions more responsible, to permit the people to make their voices heard more effectively, and to sanction the activity of party cadres.

Finally, the evolution of economic-administrative decentralization with the new territorial organization, the broadening of elections into rural areas and the creation of structures with a mandate granted by popular election, such as the assemblies. An important feature in all these high points of the



MPR's recent history is that everything starts from and converges on the basic postulate of the second republic: the primacy of the party. Thus, within the entire hierarchy, the MPR committees are the leadership authorities--the authorities with political responsibility.

Question Can one say that the MPR's path through these reference points is a straight line that has not undergone either twisting and turning or any change of direction?

Answer No. But the MPR is successfully launched--no doubt about it. And just like any human undertaking, the path of its maturing process has had its shining moments and its somber moments. Besides, that is why periods of revitalization or renewal of the party make all the sense in the world. Think of the periods such as those marked by the instructive outcry for leadership, political affairs and coordination, the executive secretariat, the secretary general for political organization and...highs and lows, a sign of the MPR's incredible vitality.

Question The MPR is a party with a future. After that historical reminder of the past, could the secretary general tell us what he envisions concerning the MPR of the year 2000?

Answer The MPR in the year 2000...(And that is within about 8 as published years. In concrete terms, the year 2000 will be reached in President Mobutu's next 7-year presidential term which starts in 1984.) There you have the whole problematical matter of the durability of Mobutuism. Mobutuism will live on--that is the way things will be--to the extent that the political leadership adequately resolves the issue of professional cadres within the MPR.

Let me explain: Everything bad being said or done regarding party cadres quite simply means that, at this stage of the revolution, the demand for them by the rank-and-file is such that the outcome of the debate over party cadres is proving to be decisive for how the maturing process of our party-government is evolving.

One thing is being forgotten in this debate: The MPR sprang from the complete approval of the nation, from definite legitimacy, which is to say in accordance with the deep-seated will of the people. I mean that the MPR arose with the total support of the masses. But regarding party professionals, they have come from that whole variety of banned parties. They came to the MPR not because of support for the movement's political plan but in search of jobs, because of their need for gainful employment. The foundation of the MPR is in the masses, and that is what is essential. But the party professionals must be won over. More precisely, the MPR must establish its professional cadres from among those who identify with the MPR's political plan.

Of course, opportunities to do this have been missed; however, the Central Committee came back to this matter in its first and fourth sessions. The Executive Committee has responsibility for establishing the file of Mobutuist party professionals. In short, a need is being demonstrated, the need to have

within the large movement rallying the masses a vanguard dedicated to the achievement of the MPR's political plan, something like a locomotive pulling railroad cars. The durability of Mobutuism--the MPR in the year 2000--is taking shape in that perspective.

Question The ideology of a political party is the set of important ideas that enlighten its members and determine their historical progress. In your capacity as director of the party school, could you give us a panorama of the state of health of the MPR's ideology? And how does it fit into the MPR activist's everyday life?

Answer The MPR's ideology has had a fortunate development. It has won, nurtured and confirmed its position as an ideology for contemporary Africa. This ideology has matured in several dimensions:

- in the dimension of its theoretical consistency;
- in the dimension of the reasoning of its basic theses; and,
- in the dimension of its conceptual clarification.

Mobutuism is a kind of humanism. However, it is a pragmatic doctrine--that is to say, it gives great importance to translating the theoretical body of its theses, intentions and claims into living actions of social transformation. It is the achievement of a specific political plan. It is through its pragmatism that it goes about integrating itself into the everyday life of its activists--an integration not just of outward achievements but, most of all, of internalization in order to transform activists into the creative spirits of their own development in accordance with the pattern of the plan.

Question Citizen Secretary General, you run the Makanda Kabobi Institute, which is in charge of training the country's party professionals politically and ideologically. Do you believe that the party school is accomplishing its objectives by following its present working methods?

Answer Let us first state the party school's objectives:

1. to imbue party professionals with the teachings of the Guide;
2. to get party professionals talking the same language;
3. to clarify the principles that are the basis of the Second Republic's revolutionary activity;
4. to spread the party's doctrine in a standardized fashion; and,
5. to train MPR officials and leaders at all levels, so that they speak the same language and constantly improve their knowledge of it.

And presently implemented methods are effectively working toward making a success of those objectives. Those methods are based on:

1. the adult education system;
2. continuous functional training;
3. a training system with follow-up; and,
4. a body of teachings set by the Central Committee.

These present-day methods facilitate the assimilation of the teachings by those adult persons who are officials and leaders of the MPR and facilitate those teachings being translated into behavior, attitudes and capabilities. So, a didactic method for teaching proper behavior makes one's intellectual grasp of Mobutuism complete. Insight into the functioning of our party-government political system--knowledge of the principles of Mobutuist action--understanding of the relevance of Mobutuism in the national, inter-African and global sociopolitical context--knowing that decisions that are taken by and actions of the government fall into a definite overall political plan--all this properly qualifies party cadres and makes them capable of controlling the authentic Zairian revolution. Not only are the school's objectives being achieved, but also a genuine political culture is in the process of molding the MPR's officialdom and leadership personnel, which currently come through the party school. And that is a step forward.

GENAFED No 590/82

9631

CSO: 4719/882

BANK OF ZAIRE REPORTS SLOWDOWN IN ECONOMY

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 22 Apr 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] The growth of the Zairian economy, noted in 1980, continued during the first half of 1981 but slowed down after the middle of the year.

According to the Bank of Zaire's report on the economic life of Zaire in 1981, this slowdown was due to the insufficiency of foreign resources to finance the imports needed for production.

The report stresses that certain enterprises, taking into account the weakening of demand caused by the decline in consumer purchasing power, reduced the level of their activities. Shortages of funds also hampered business activities.

As a result, Zaire's economic growth fell short of the expected rate of 3 percent. In actual fact, according to preliminary estimates of the Bank of Zaire, the gross domestic product grew at the rate of 1.9 percent in real terms (2.4 percent in 1980), thanks to the favorable situation in the consumer goods sector.

Mining and Metallurgical Production

The Bank of Zaire notes an upswing in mining and metallurgical production, but at a less rapid rate. This production increased 96.8 points in 1979, 109.1 in 1980, and 115 in 1981, using 1970 as the production index base.

Copper production increased from 459,300 tons in 1980 to 504,800 tons in 1981. Production of refined zinc reached 57,000 tons in 1981, compared to 43,900 tons in 1980.

An upswing was also noted for gold and silver, which had been in a distinct decline during the previous years.

Production of crude petroleum reached 7,668,000 barrels in 1981, as against 6,640,000 in 1980. There was a decline in the mining of other ores: a decline of 23 percent for cobalt, whose production was intentionally slowed as a result of large existing stocks; and a decline in diamond production due to the difficulties in exploiting the rocky deposits intended to replace the alluvial deposits now being worked out.

Activities in the transport sector, which have made headway since 1980, kept up in 1981. But traffic in the ports of Matadi and Kinshasa improved as a result of the more intensive use of the national road for the export of ores.

#### Retail Prices

The average index of retail prices, reached after adjustment of the two indices of the National Statistical Institute and the Institute of Economic and Social Research, respectively, in 1981 as against 46.7 percent in 1980. [sentence as published]

The index of market prices shows a more marked increase for local products than for imported products.

The Bank of Zaire nevertheless emphasized the inflation that followed the rise in prices of goods other than foodstuffs in the 3 months following the change in parity, and then the rise in the prices of foodstuffs at the end of the year, during the supply difficulties caused by the shortage of fuel.

Concerning public finances, the state of Zaire had receipts of 4,801,800,000 [zares] in 1981, an increase of 27.1 percent, while payments reached 6,524,100,000 zaires in 1981, for an increase of 58.6 percent.

The deficit was financed by foreign loans and by monetary resources.

#### Foreign Economic Relations

Receipts from Zairian exports reached 2,769,400,000 zaires in 1981, as opposed to 4,380,700,000 zaires in 1980.

Imports totaled 2,360,900,000 zaires, an increase of 16.2 percent. The decline in foreign accounts in zaires is due above all to the unfavorable development in the terms of trade: copper prices fell to a very low level, the selling price of cobalt weakened, while the price for diamonds (average price) again diminished as a result of the increase in the relative proportion of lower quality diamonds, to the detriment of jewelry stones.

On the other hand, prices for vegetable products showed greater strength, with the exception of the price for coffee, which was clearly in decline during the second half of the year.

Compared to prices, tonnages exported scarcely changed. With the sole case of copper, exports reached 470,000 tons in 1981, as against 468,000 tons in 1980.

The decline in export receipts made it impossible to meet all foreign obligations accumulated in 1981 by the repurchase of large issues and payments to the International Monetary Fund.

## Money and Credit

The total amount of money in circulation increased only 37.9 percent during the year 1981, compared to 61.5 percent in 1980. This was the result of maintaining a restrictive monetary policy. Monetary liquidity increased by 37 percent in 1981, compared to 66.1 percent in 1980.

This monetary expansion is due to the state's recourse to deficit financing for its operations. Net state debts increased to 4,942,900,000 zaires, or by 60 percent.

Assistance to the economy reached 1,281,900,000 zaires (a 30.6-percent increase), while foreign holdings strongly decreased, so that the negative balance increased from 261.8 million to 1,408,800,000 zaires in 1981.

This credit to firms and individuals, fixed at 475 million zaires for 1981, reached 1,259,300,000 zaires by 31 December 1981.

In conclusion, according to the Bank of Zaire, the year 1981 did not fully confirm the hopes inspired by the renewal of economic growth in 1980, following numerous years of recession, and the progress achieved along the path of return to balanced finances.

In the foreign field, the report states that as a result of the noteworthy decline in export earnings, the balance of current payments is again in deficit.

The report emphasizes that this decline in export earnings may compromise the success of the recovery plan and make it more difficult to meet foreign obligations.

9772

CSO: 4719/971

CHINESE TO HELP FINANCE EXPENSES FOR SUGARMILL

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 22 Apr 82 p 9

[Article by Mbiya Tchota and Mueni Mpala: "Sino-Zaire Cooperation"]

[Text] Half of the expenses for completion of the Lotokila sugarmill will be financed by the Chinese Government.

This is what emerges from the meetings that took place Thursday 15 April in the office of Citizen Kamitatu Massamba, state commissar for agriculture at the Department of Rural Development, with His Excellency Li Shangji, Chinese ambassador to Zaire. The two statesmen reviewed the subject of cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture, especially in connection with strengthening the search for new types of rice for Zaire.

During these meetings the problem of finishing the Lokoti sugarmill in the Upper Zaire region was brought up. The Chinese diplomat confirmed that the Chinese had agreed to take over half the financing costs, payable in local currency.

We note that this mill is expected to produce 12,000 tons of sugar annually. This production unit will be operational during the last half of 1984 if time schedules are maintained.

They also discussed strengthening the UMAZ [expansion unknown] for the sale of light agricultural materials in the countryside, which the department considers very important.

9772

CSO: 4719/971



MATADI FLOUR MILL PRODUCTION INCREASE REPORTED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 May 82 p 9

[Article by Obotela Osega-Bioto]

[Text] On Wednesday, 19 May, the Matadi Flour Mills (MIDEMA) solemnly commissioned its increased production capacity. This production, up from 450 to 600 tons of wheat per day, was made possible thanks to new equipment, on which the technical preparatory work and installation began in October 1981. Today, this is a renovated plant, the commissioning of which the numerous guests of the MIDEMA brought to Kinshasa on a special airplane flight had the privilege of attending. The director of the MIDEMA headquarters, Mr Obrist, took the group of guests, headed by the regional president of the MPR and governor of the Bas-Zaïre region, Mr Malumba Mbangula, on a guided tour of the facilities.

Three main addresses preceded the cutting of the symbolic ribbon by the governor of the region. It was 9 years ago that the president and founder of the MPR, now president of the republic, inaugurated these flour mills, Mr Beya Tshikeba, president of the MIDEMA board of directors, said in his speech. Today, he went on to say, based on the various agreements signed between the two main partners, Zaïre controls 40 percent of the MIDEMA company capital, fully paid up. Speaking specifically of the ceremony in progress, the speaker noted that it bore witness to a model of cooperation between private foreign investors and the state.

In his address, Mr Walter Bohren Fluckiger, managing director of the MIDEMA, set forth the activities of this important wheat flour production unit. At the time of its commissioning, the MIDEMA had a milling capacity of 350 tons of wheat per day. "We were very proud that day," the speaker said, "and we have a right to be again," he stressed, "after having done our best for 9 years to carry out the mission entrusted to us. This pride is justified above all now that we can inaugurate facilities capable of milling 600 tons of wheat per day, and producing 10,300 sacks of flour per day," the managing director of the MIDEMA explained.

Since 19 May 1973, he went on to say, the company has not ceased to make additional investments. He mentioned the most important ones, the last having to do precisely with the production increase from 450 to 600 tons of wheat per

day. The amount of this investment came to U. S. \$2,034,000. These investments, the speaker said, are certainly the best evidence of the confidence prevailing among the stockholders of the MIDEMA, on the one hand, and the government authorities in Zaire, on the other.

The managing director of the MIDEMA headquarters, Mr Ngalo Ekendje, congratulated the officials of the company on behalf of the workers for having been able to arrange the financing of this project, which fully reflects the confidence they have in our great country, in its institutions and in its leaders, he stressed. The first 120 sacks of flour produced by the renovated MIDEMA plant were offered to various social projects in the form of a gift--proof that business does not totally exclude philanthropy.

In response to the thanks expressed by the president of the board of directors of the MIDEMA during the dinner at the Metropole Hotel, the regional president of the MPR and governor of the Bas-Zaire region thanked and congratulated the MIDEMA partners.

A visit to the bridge under construction over the Zaire River in Matadi brought the program organized for this great day by the MIDEMA to an end. Let us note that this economic ceremony was enhanced by the presence of the state commissioner for economy, industry and foreign trade, Mr Ilunga Ilukamba, the American charge d'affaires, Mr MacNamara, as well as numerous other outstanding guests (presidents and managing directors of enterprises).

5157

CSO: 4719/1070

LUBUMBASHI'S AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM EXPLAINED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 28 Apr 82 p 9

[Article: "Lubumbashi City's Integrated Agricultural Plan"]

[Text] The Shaba, which is a "geological scandal," could also be an agricultural scandal. And to free this region from the need to import corn, CEPSE [expansion not given] is doing everything it can to triple production.

Some 15,433 registered planters, including 1,222 groups, are participating this year in the integrated agricultural program initiated by the Lubumbashi city government.

This program, now under way, calls for the plowing of 936.9 hectares of fields where various items of food production will be planted, with an estimated production for the 1981-82 season of 2,600 tons of corn, 20,000 tons of cassava, 235 tons of peanuts, and 300 tons of soy beans.

The city of Lubumbashi possesses a rich green belt and certain agro-industrial units: the Kisanga farm, the Swiss agricultural mission in the Lubumbashi zone, as well as farms and truck farms.

The project aims principally at the restoration of the village by training peasant masses for increased agricultural production, identifying all human resources with a view to maximizing their rational use, noting the numerous constraints hampering agricultural development in the green belt, and evaluating the material and financial requirements for carrying out the project.

Compared to the territorial structure of a rural subregion which takes collectivity as the basis for peasant production, the project for the city of Lubumbashi places at the center of concern the locality (or village), as an agricultural brigade made up of production teams and cooperatives.

9772

CSO: 4719/971

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

TEXTILE WAGES RAISED--The workers in the Utexco, Zaire-Print, Tissakin and Zaitex Companies in the textile sector will benefit from a 20 percent increase in their established wages as of 1 May 1982. This is the result of the initial negotiations which led to the signing of a protocol of agreement between the UNTZa and the textile company managers on 1 May of this year. This increase, the protocol of agreement specifies, is granted pending completion of the negotiations currently in progress between the social partners concerning amendment of the sectorial collective agreement governing the personnel of these four companies. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 May 82 p 9] 5157

CSO: 4719/1070

# COMPREHENSIVE TRAINING TO MAKE ARMY 'SUPER FORCE'

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 22 Jun 82 p 1

[Text]

**ZAMBIA** Army is going through a comprehensive training programme aimed at transforming it into a super fighting force, army commander Lieutenant-General Malimba Masheke said in Lusaka yesterday.

General Masheke said the training programme the army had embarked upon should not be a mere paper blueprint projecting professional aspirations.

"No matter how plausible, if just stored away to ~~suffocate~~ in the filing cabinets and not translated into reality through positive action, the programme was as useful as is an embryo to a family."

The general was speaking at the official opening of the inter-unit-skill-at-arms competition in Lusaka.

He appealed to all levels of command in the army to assume a sense of commitment when implementing the training programme.

"All of us must be clear of the aim and then with a deliberate sense of purpose strive to achieve it."

"It is our duty as an army to achieve and maintain the highest level of professional efficiency because that is the only way we shall be able to shoulder tenaciously the heavy national security responsibilities."

The shooting competition, in which 340 men are taking part, is of particular significance in any discerning army

because it was one of the accurate gauges measuring its primary skill — shoot to kill.

There was not much point in a farmer to fatten one bull for a three-day show while leaving the rest of the herd in abject deprivation. "Remember shoot to kill is and must be an army's hallmark."

Urging the officers and men to "train hard to fight well", the general said there was conclusive evidence the "enemy" was training day and night "and the enemy can only train to fight us".

War in this part of Africa, he said, was still a three dimensional reality. There was the thick, dark, political cloud over the sub-continent which was an indicator it was just a matter of time before a freak hurricane of military confrontation could be the only viable option left.

Gen Masheke displayed his talent at marksmanship when he took position from 300 metres and fired at the targets twice hitting the bull using an M 56 assault rifle.

The competition ends on June 26 and is expected to be officially closed by Defence Minister Mr Wilson Chakulya.

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## BRIEFS

OIL SEARCH--The Ministry of Mines has started to prospect for petroleum oil in the Luangwa Valley and te Western Province after a K6.6 million World Bank loan clinched in Washington last week. The two areas are being surveyed for oil because they contain ideal rocks. Acting permanent secretary Dr Eli Mwanag'onze confirmed in Lusaka yesterday the three-year hydrocarbon project had started and aeroplanes were flying over the two areas to locate structures containing oil or gas. "If and when these are located it will be up to the Government to decide how to proceed," he said. The Government would, if results prove positive, invite oil companies to jointly carry out detailed assessment of the available quantity to determine whether it would be economical to set up oil extraction plants. The project will take three years and will cost more than K7 million and the Government will pump in K1 million in three years. The actual survey was carried out by a company called Geo-Survey and another consulting company would evaluate its results. At this time of escalating oil prices, Zambia could save up to K200 million if this search proved fruitful. [Text][Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 23 Jun 82 p 2]

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